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ABSTRACT

The data in this report were collected in 1966 from a representative sample of 600 elementary and secondary public school teachers. The report itself is comprised of five parts. The first one concerns the life style of public school teachers. It includes a description of their residential and economic conditions, and their cultural background. The second part pertains to teachers' ideology. It describes the values of teachers and their degree of tolerance toward the discussion of controversial issues in the classroom. The third section also deals with the ideology of teachers, but with reference to their attitudes regarding education and social changes in Puerto Rico. The fourth chapter of the report describes the attitudes of public school teachers toward the United States and North Americans. The last part of the report deals with professional aspects of teaching. It discusses teachers' attitudes toward their college preparation, their recommendations to teacher training institutions, their opinions about teacher participations, and their suggestions for improving the profession. The most salient findings about the teaching profession which come out of this report are its traditional orientation, its political intolerance and its passive acceptance of the professional development of teachers. (Author/RT)

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THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN PUERTO RICO

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Introduction

This study represents another effort geared to understand the social forces which influence the teaching profession in Puerto Rican society.[1] It is expected to add to existing knowledge in relation to the professions and new élites in developing countries. We hope that it will also shed some light on problems faced by Puerto Rican teachers.

The research project which is described here was conducted under Grant 5-0763 of the United States Office of Education. It is based on a representative sample of 600 elementary and secondary public school teachers. Data was collected through personal interviews which lasted 3 hours on the average. The final interview schedule was adopted after an intensive pilot study with 70 teachers. The questions included in the pilot study were mainly open-ended ones. Their analysis was used to find professional areas most relevant to teachers, to check design of questions and to construct meaningful categories for structured questions.

The field work for this investigation was conducted in 1966 and it had to encounter some major difficulties. Among them, the most relevant ones were: (1) Mobility of school teachers was larger than expected. On account of this reason it was difficult to trace many of the subjects included in the study. As a result interviewers had to visit three to four school districts in order to locate the subjects and make personal contacts for interviewing. The main repercussion of this difficulty was the forced extension of field work operations. (2) Personnel turnover. Since most interviews and coders were hired on a short term contract without possibilities for tenure many of those originally hired resigned their positions in order to accept permanent jobs or better remunerated ones. This situation confronted the project with the continuous need to recruit and train personnel. It proved most disadvantageous after some coders who had been trained to work with open ended questions left their positions to accept better jobs.

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[1] The Research Division of the Council of Higher Education under the former directorship of Dr. Ismael Rodríguez Bou has contributed to such effort.

The report submitted here is comprised of five parts. The first one has to do with the life style of public school teachers. It includes a description of their residential and economic conditions as well as their degree of satisfaction with such conditions. It also describes the cultural background of teachers, as it relates to their use of leisure time, their recreational activities, reading habits, travel and participation in professional activities. The data presented here show teachers as a "disadvantaged" group in these cultural terms.

The second part pertains to teachers' ideology. It purports to describe the values teachers ascribe to various things in life, their degree of tolerance towards the discussion of controversial issues in the classroom and, finally, their attitudes towards fellow teachers of different political and religious ideas. In these aspects Puerto Rican teachers show themselves as persons oriented towards the traditional valuations of society and rather intolerant to persons identified with political ideologies in the minority.

The third section deals also with the ideology of teachers but with reference to their attitudes regarding education and social changes in Puerto Rico. In regard to education they were asked to mention the main purpose of education, to compare public and private education and to state their preferences with one or the other type of education. It is surprising to find out that teachers come out as wholehearted supporters of public education albeit the fact that this is seen mostly in utilitarian terms.

On the matter of social change teachers were asked to appraise development in Puerto Rico and to express the way they perceived participation in it. The idea was to find out whether teachers saw development and the social processes accompanying it as something foreign to them or, on the contrary, saw themselves as propitiatory elements of such changes. The data points out towards the second direction and to a positive identification of teachers with changes which have occurred in Puerto Rico. This, nevertheless, is not seen as a blanket endorsement of government actions in this area since they are not satisfied with what government has done for their professional group.

The fourth chapter of this work describes the attitudes of public school teachers towards the United States and Northamericans. This has been done in terms of their preferences for living in the United States, the differences they perceive between Puerto Ricans and Northamericans and the feelings which they attribute to one group with regard to the other. The findings reveal a very definite perception of cultural differentials and the emergence of important areas as possible sources of conflict. Racial differences stand out as one of the most visible sources of tension.

The last part of the report deals with professional aspects of teaching. It discusses teachers' attitudes towards their college preparation, their recommendations to teacher training institutions, their opinions about teacher participation, and their suggestions for improving the profession.

The most salient findings about the teaching profession which come out of this report are its traditional orientation, its political intolerance and its passive acceptance of the professional development of teachers. Teachers generally emerge as rather conformist towards the government's role and they concede themselves too little responsibility for what has happened to their own professional group.

These characteristics which teachers, one of the most highly educated groups of Puerto Rican society, exhibit seem to reflect societal traits which abound in the society at large. They may pose the greatest challenge to democratic living in Puerto Rico.

Chapter I

The Life Style of the Public School Teacher

In order to give a general idea of the material conditions of the Puerto Rican public school teacher we present, as follows, details concerning place of residence, economic status, and degree of satisfaction with these conditions. We also present the cultural aspects which characterize the ambience in which teachers interact as individuals.

1. Place of residence - The majority of the teachers included in this study were born in rural areas or in urban non-metropolitan areas; they have spent most of their childhood in their place of birth. Only one teacher out of every ten was born and raised in a metropolitan area.

A comparison between the place of birth and rearing and the place of residence showed that although five out of ten teachers had been born and reared in the rural area, only two of them were still living there. On the other hand, the proportion of teachers from rural areas living in a metropolitan area increased from one to three out of ten teachers. The proportion of teachers living in urban or metropolitan areas came to five out of ten. This proportion was slightly higher than the corresponding one for teachers who were born and raised in those areas.

The previous data reveal a fact parallel to the general experience observed in Puerto Rico: migration from rural to metropolitan areas. In a similar manner, teachers from rural origin have moved principally to metropolitan areas, which have been characterized by a high rate of population increase. However, it is worth pointing out that even those teachers who have stayed within their place of origin, by no means have remained static. The available data shows that almost half of the teachers in the sample had lived fours years or less in their present residence while only a third had been living for ten years or more at their present address. This residential mobility will probably continue since half of the group studied indicated that they would like to live someplace else, especially those that had been living in their present address for four years or less.

If the criterium of "psychological mobility", expressed in terms of having a preference to live someplace else, is taken as one important factor of potential ecological mobility, it could be inferred that it is in this group, who wishes to live some other place, that one can find the greatest intention to move geographically in and out of the school district where they are teaching.

Those teachers who have the greatest urge to move and change their place of residence are male teachers around 31 years old whose spouse is doing some kind of manual labor; they mostly come from the rural zone, or else from small towns away from a metropolitan area. They have not completed their B.A. and mostly teach in the rural zone in the educational regions of Caguas, Humacao and Ponce. These teachers who expressed a wish to change their place of residence also manifested the most negative judgement about the education they got in highschool; they have no relatives in the teaching profession and do not have many years of experience; they have not acquired tenure and mostly teach the higher grades of the elementary school or some liberal arts courses in high school. It is very possible that this group has not taught continously and that most at the teachers had some other kind of job before taking up teaching.

Nearly half of the teachers live in the same community where they teach. When comparing those who do and do not live in the communities where they teach, we find that the majority of those living in the same community where they teach, are married, over 32 years of age and have a household of four persons or more. Regarding their professional characteristics the facts show that most of them have four or more years of college, ten or more years of experience, and tenure. The type of school organization under which they work is that of single enrollment in urban districts. They teach the higher grades of the elementary school or liberal arts courses in high school. They have also held some other type of job before taking up teaching, interrupted their teaching career, and have a very good opinion about the education received in high school. The largest proportion of teachers who live in the same community where they work is found in the educational regions of Ponce and Mayaguez and the smallest proportion in San Juan.

If we compare this group who resides in the same community where they teach with the group who expresses a high desire for residential mobility it is found that they differ significantly in that the former are older, have a better academic training, and tenure. Also, they verbalize more positive judgments about their high school education and tend to concentrate mostly in the educational region of Ponce and Mayaguez. On the other hand, we find similarities between the two groups in the higher proportion of teachers in the upper grades of elementary school, in those teaching liberal arts in high school, in those that stopped teaching for some time and, finally, in those who have had another job before they became teachers.

Most of the teachers living in the community where they teach affirmed that they like living in that community (287 out of 304). The 17 teachers who expressed dissatisfaction for living in that community differed from the rest in the following ways: They were mostly women, over 31 years old, of non-manual origin and most of them had large households where none of the relatives ever took up teaching as a profession. Most of them were specialized in secondary education and their academic index was lower than the average. Also, they were teaching in the rural area in an interlocking or double enrollment school organization. They expressed negative experiences in relation to their high school education as well as during the first year they worked as teachers.

As previously indicated, about half of the public school teachers do not live in the place where they work. When they were asked whether they would like to live in the community where they worked, 6 out of 10 answered in the negative. The differences between both groups are shown in table 1.

Table 1

Selected Characteristics of Teachers Who do not Live in the Communities Where they Work According to their Stated Preference for Living or not in such Communities

Characteristic	Likes to live in the same community where is teaching (Percent)	Doesn't like to live in the same community where is teaching (Percent)
1. Sex		
Male	42	58
Female	30	70
2. Status		
Single	27	73
Other	39	61
3. Place of birth		
Rural	41	59
Urban	32	68
4. Place of rearing		
Rural	40	60
Urban	32	68
5. Religion		
Catholic	33	67
Other	48	52
6. Father's occupation		
Non-manual	33	67
Manual	42	58
7. Husband's occupation		
Non-manual	41	59
Manual	33	67

Table 1
(Continuation)

Characteristic	Likes to live in the same community where is teaching (Percent)	Doesn't like to live in the same community where is teaching (Percent)
8. Job before teaching		
Yes	42	58
No	33	67
9. Academic training		
Less than B. A.	31	69
B. A. or above	39	61
10. Academic Index		
2.00 - 2.49	32	68
2.50 - 4.00	40	60
11. Especialization		
Elementary school	31	69
Secondary school	40	60
12. Type of contract		
Permanent	32	68
Others	42	58
13. Teaching level		
Elemental	29	71
Secondary	40	60
14. School zone		
Rural	30	70
Urban	40	60
15. Prefers teaching other grade		
Yes	35	65
No	20	80
16. Prefers teaching other subject		
Yes	45	55
No	33	67

Table 1
(Continuation)

Characteristic	Likes to live in the same community where is teaching (Percent)	Doesn't like to live in the same community where is teaching (Percent)
17. Number of changes from school district		
0 - 3	35	65
4 - 6	46	54
18. Educational Region		
Caguas	41	57
Humacao	40	60
Ponce	39	61
Mayaguez	36	64
Arecibo	32	68
San Juan	32	68

The analysis of the data permits us to conclude that those teachers not living in the place where they work and who do not wish to live there are mostly female teachers, unmarried, urban in origin, Catholic and of non-manual origin. If the teacher is married his spouse is generally doing some manual work. His only working experience is teaching, he has less than four years of college and his academic index is below the median. He usually has an elementary school specialization, tenure and teaches in the elementary school of the rural zone. This type of teacher is satisfied with regard to the grade or subject he teaches and shows less geographical mobility. He predominates more in the educational region of San Juan and less frequently in Caguas.

2. Economic situation. This phase of the study has taken into consideration the present salary, additional sources of income to supplement the salary, amount of savings and debts, as well as verbalized opinions about the salary actually earned.

A. Present salary and additional sources to supplement it:

Obviously the first thing to notice concerning the teachers' salaries is that they get a very low one. About 43% of the teachers in the sample get a salary of $229 or less monthly. They tend to concentrate between $250 and $299 monthly. Although 57% get a salary of $300 or more, the great majority gets from $300 to $349 and only a minority gets a higher salary between $350 and $399. In this group of teachers we found only one case who gets a little over $400 for salary. Evidently this is more than enough proof of the low level of salaries of school teachers in Puerto Rico. This is very discouraging in spite of all the attempts to improve the situation. However, it is rather strange how small is the number of teachers who take up other kinds of work to compensate for the low salary they get. Only 28% of them claimed that they do this. This additional job is usually on the same status category, a non-manual job, and it may bring an additional $100 monthly as income.

Those teachers who get the higher salaries are usually married, over 32 years, with a spouse who does non-manual labor and generally live in the urban area. They are persons with four or more years of college education, over ten years of experience and have tenure in the secondary shools in urban areas. As expected this survey revealed that the teacher at a higher level of the school system gets a higher salary than the elementary shool teacher. However, teachers from kindergarten to third grade get higher salaries than the teachers from fourth to six grades. Also it is worth mentioning that the best paid teachers are the liberal arts teachers rather than those teaching vocational courses.

Those teachers who have moved more frequently from district to district and who are not going to college are the best paid. This may seem rather strange, but the fact is that they are older, and have tenure and a better academic training.

The group which has shown preference for teaching at another school level or a different grade gets a lower salary on account of working in the elementary level in the rural zone, of having less experience, less academic training and no tenure.

Regarding the school regions, we find that Ponce and Caguas have a greater number of lower-paid teachers than the school areas of San Juan and Arecibo.

It is also obvious that neither sex, nor type of shool organization nor academic index have any relationship with salary earned.

In spite of the low salaries, only three out of ten teachers take on an additional job along with their teaching duties. Table 2 shows the basic differences between this group and the one who has no additional job as another source of income.

Table 2

Selected Characteristics of teachers who either had or didn't have an additional job.

Characteristics	Had another additional job as income Yes (N-130)	 No (N-468)
	%	%
1. Sex		
Male	81	41
Female	19	59
2. Age		
31 or less	32	42
32 and over	68	58
3. Religion		
Catholic	76	82
Other	24	18
4. Another job before teaching		
Yes	47	31
No	53	69

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Table 2
(Continuation)

Selected Characteristics of teachers who either had or didn't have an additional job.

Characteristics	Had another additional job as income	
	Yes (N-130)	No. (N-458)
	%	%
5. College drop-out		
Yes	45	35
No	55	65
6. College training		
less than B.A.	21	30
B.A. or more	79	70
7. Specialization		
Elementary education	32	46
Secondary level	68	54
8. Teaching level		
Elementary	27	40
Secondary	73	60
9. Grade taught		
K - 3	22	51
4 - 6	78	49
10. School zone		
Rural	27	38
Urban	73	62
11. Type of contract		
Permanent	69	60
Other	31	40
12. Prefers teaching other subject		
Yes	62	52
No	38	48
13. Interrupted teaching		
Yes	36	49
No	64	51

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It can be observed from table 2 that the teacher who takes up another job usually is a male teacher, over 32 ayears old, with four or more years of college, secondary school specialization and tenure. Most of the time he teaches in the urban high school. If he is teaching in elementary school, he is doing so in the upper grades. Also, he may have had other jobs before taking up teaching and he has had more geographical mobility, in part on account of having many more years of experience.

No relation was found between an extra job and the subject taught in secondary school. Neither was there any relationship with civil status, present residence or size of household. The proportion of teachers who take up an additional job is about the same in the various school regions.

Of the 130 teachers who held additional job besides teaching, 113 of them are doing a job similar in status to teaching while 13% of them, 17 out of 130 are performing some other kind of work which can be classified as manual labor: carpenter, house painter, draftsman, mechanic, baker, radio repair, etc. Some of them are non-commissioned member of the National Guard.

Although the 17 teachers who perform manual work is too small a sample from which to generalize, we do include here Table 3 which shows the main difference between the two groups.

As can be seen from this table, the group of teachers who are involved in some kind of manual labor is mostly composed of male teachers around 31 years old. They come mostly from the rural zone and they had to quit college before they became teachers. The majority of the teachers who

Table 3

Selected Characteristics of teachers who had an additional job of a manual or non-manual character

	Type of job	
Characteristics	Non-manual (N-113)	Manual (N-17)
	%	%
1. Sex		
Male	78	100
Female	22	---
2. Age		
31 or less	22	47
32 or over	78	53
3. Place of birth		
Rural	50	88
Urban	50	12
4. Place of rearing		
Rural	50	82
Urban	50	18
5. Residence		
Rural	23	35
Urban (not a Metro. area)	46	47
Metropolitan	31	18
6. Relatives in the teaching prof.		
Yes	54	41
No	46	59
7. College drop-out		
Yes	41	65
No	59	35
8. Academic training		
Less than B.A.	20	29
B.A. or more	80	71
9. Academic index		
2.00 - 2.49	69	53
2.50 - 4.00	31	47
10. Years of experience		
9 or less	65	87
10 or more	35	13

Table 3 (Continuation)

Characteristics	Type of job	
	Non-manual (N-113)	Manual (N-17)
	%	%
11. Type of contract		
Permanent	71	59
Other	29	41
12. Teaching level		
Elementary	28	21
Secondary	72	79
13. School organization		
Singel enrollment	50	65
Other	50	35
14. Subject taught		
Humanities	48	29
Natural Sciences	23	7
Vocational	21	43
Other	8	21
15. School zone		
Rural	23	58
Urban	77	47
16. Performed another job, in addition to teaching		
Yes	43	71
No	57	29
17. Evaluation of First year experience		
Very good	48	29
Good or less	52	71

have an additional job did not have any relatives in the teaching proffesion, had some other kind of work before teaching, and had completed less than four years of college with an academic index less than average. They had less than nine years of experience and no tenure. Most of them work in the secondary level of the rural zone within a school organization of double or interlocking enrollment.

B. Savings and debts: In order to get a clearer picture of the economic situation of school teachers, it was thought pertinent to compare the amount of their savings and debts.

The most oustanding finding pertaining to this area is that more than half of the school teachers in Puerto Rico (six out of ten) do not have any amount of savings. On the other hand, almost all the teachers, nine out of ten, have debts or loans to pay.

The majority of those teachers who do have some savings stated that their debts are larger than the savings they have; only three out of ten think that their savings are bigger. One out of ten stated that their savings and debts were almost equal.

The situation concerning savings is not peculiar to teachers. The problem of savings is one that permeates the whole Puerto Rican society. This country has one of the lowest rates of savings in the world. It is also one of the most indebted places. Teachers are no exception to this general societal trend.

Table 4 presents the characteristics of those teachers who have managed to save, independently of whether savings are less, more or the same as their debts.

This table shows that teachers who have savings are generally females over 31 years old, single, and persons of urban origin. They

Table 4

Selected characteristics of teachers according to their rate of savings

Characteristics	Rate of Savings	
	Has savings (N=237) %	Does not have savings (N=361) %
1. Sex		
Male	34	66
Female	46	54
2. Age		
31 or less	47	53
32 or over	35	65
3. Status		
Single	60	40
Other	35	65
4. Place of birth		
Rural	35	65
Urban	45	55
5. Place of rearing		
Rural	34	66
Urban	46	54
6. Residence		
Rural	37	63
Urban	37	63
7. Husband's occupation		
Non -manual	38	62
Manual	29	71
8. Family size		
3 or less	48	52
4 or more	36	64
9. Performed another job before teaching		
Yes	34	66
No	43	57

Table 4 (Continuation)

	Rate of Savings	
	Has savings (N=237) %	Does not have savings (N=361) %
10. College drop-out		
Yes	33	67
No	43	57
11. Academic training		
Less than B. A.	31	69
B. A. or more	43	57
12. Specialization		
Elementary	32	68
Secondary	45	55
13. Teaching level		
Elementary	34	66
Secondary	43	57
14. Grade taught		
K to 3	36	64
4 to 6	22	78
15. School zone		
Rural	33	67
Urban	43	57
16. Prefers other subject		
Yes	29	61
No	48	52
17. Educational region		
San Juan	49	51
Ponce	39	61
Mayaguez	42	58
Caguas	36	64
Humacao	36	64
Arecibo	32	68

have performed mainly as teachers, have four years or more of college training and teach at the secondary level in an urban place. Those elementary school teachers who have managed to save are mostly teachers from kindergarten to the third grade. This finding is in accordance with a previous one which showed that these same teachers are getting the higher salaries in the elementary level.

The school region of San Juan has the greatest number of teachers with a savings account while Arecibo has the smallest. The fact that the teachers from Arecibo are not able to save is perhaps an explanation for their dissatisfaction with the salary they get. In spite of this we find that this school area, as well as that of San Juan, has the greatest proportion of teachers getting the highest salaries.

There is no relation between religion and savings; neither is this affected by the years of experience, the academic index or the type of contract.

A comparison between the taechers with the best salaries and those who have savings shows the following similarities: most of them live in the urban zone, they come from non-manual origins, they have four or more years of college, and work in the secondary level. Those teachers with the highest salaries and the highest savings differed from the rest of the group in that they are younger and single.

Although the great majority of school teachers in Puerto Rico have a low rate of savings and a high rate of debts, about 10% of them did not have any loan or debt to be paid. This minority was composed mostly of women teachers, from the highest socio-economic status and urban origin. They worked in the secondary level. If this group is compared with the one which has a high rate of debts and a low one of savings it can be concluded that women are less inclined to be indebted than men. The teachers from the urban areas are better off than those in the rural zone; at the same time those teaching in the secondary level are better off than those teaching in elemetary school; and teachers from kindergarten to third grade are in a much better situation than teachers from fourth to six grades. The young teachers, who are single and have no tenure are also in a much better position regarding savings than older teachers with tenure.

C. Teachers' opinion on the salary they get: Most of the school teachers in the island are conscious of the low salary that they get. Seven out of ten indicated that it is less than reasonable. A few of them think that it is a fair salary, but none of them think that it is more than reasonable. Those teachers who say that salaries tend to be fair enough are female teachers who are older than the average, from manual origins and households of four or more persons. They never did any other kind of work before teaching, work in the elementary level, their academic index is higher than average, they have tenure and consequently more years of experience, and they work in a school organization of single enrollment. Those who were most satisfied about their salary were teachers from the lower grades in the elementary school and those teaching courses related to the humanities in the secondary level. (See table 5).

The teachers' dissatisfaction with such a low salary is most evident when they are requested to evaluate the salary earned in terms of its adequacy to live properly. Four out of five teachers stated that the salary they get is not enough to cover the expenses of every day life. Only one teacher out of ten says that the salary he gets is adequate. This latter opinion predominates among unmarried, female teachers whose household does not have more than three members and whose only working experience has been teaching. They generally have more years of experience and work in the elementary level. Here, teachers from kindergarten up to the third grade, are the most satisfied with their salary. This perhaps is due, as was mentioned before, to the fact that these teachers are better off financially than those teaching the grades from fourth to sixth.

Teachers who show more dissatisfaction about the salary they get show characteristics opposite to the above ones. They are also those who would like to teach another level or a different grade or subject.

There is no relation whatsover between the opinion expressed about salary and the place of residence. The proportion of teachers who are not satisfied with their salaries is almost the same in the three residential areas: rural, urban non-metropolitan and metropolitan. It is rather interesting to find that there is no difference of opinion among teachers in the secondary level that teach courses in humanities and those that teach vocational courses about the

Table 5

Selected characteristics of teachers regarding Opinion about the salary they get

Characteristics	Opinion about salary Fair (N-180) %	 Less than fair (N-413) %
1. Sex		
Male	24	76
Female	36	64
2. Age		
31 or less	25	75
32 or over	34	66
3. Father's occupation		
Non-manual	29	71
Manual	35	65
4. Husband's occupation		
Non-manual	24	76
Manual	34	66
5. Family size		
3 or less	27	73
4 or more	32	68
6. Performed another job before teaching		
Yes	27	73
No	32	68
7. Specialization		
Elementary	37	63
Secondary	26	74
8. Academic index		
2.00 - 2.49	28	72
2.50 - 4.00	34	66
9. Type of contract		
Permanent	33	67
Other	26	74
10. Years of experience		
9 or less	27	73
10 or more	36	64

Table 5 (Continuation)

Characteristics	Opinion about salary Fair (N-180) %	 Less than Fair (N-413) %
11. School organization		
Simple	33	67
Other	28	72
12. Teaching level		
Elementary	38	62
Secondary	27	73
13. Grade taught		
K - 3	43	57
4 - 6	32	68
14. Subject taught		
Humanities	33	67
Natural Science	17	83
Vocational	23	77
Others	29	71
15. Changes of school districts		
0 - 3	30	70
4 - 6	42	58
16. Interrupted teaching		
Yes	33	67
No	28	72
17. Prefers other school level		
Yes	27	73
No	33	67
18. Attending college		
Yes	27	73
No	32	68

adequacy of their salaries despite the fact that the latter ones get the lowest salaries.

The educational regions of Caguas and Arecibo show the greatest dissatisfaction among teachers concerning the salaries they get. It is reasonable to expect this finding in Caguas, but not in Arecibo where one finds, like in San Juan area, the highest salaries that teachers can get. As mentioned before a greater proportion of the lowest salaries are found in the Caguas region.

3. Cultural background. Besides the place where they live and the economic situation, another important item related to the style of living of teachers is the cultural background which characterizes their daily life. Cultural background is understood as all those activities performed by the teacher as an individual: (a) socio-recreational, (b) leisure time, (c) non-professional readings, (d) associations, (e) travel.

A. Socio-recreational activities: This aspect has been measured by taking into consideration the socio-recreation activities in which teachers are involved most frequently: movies, lectures, social dances, parties and sports. His participation in all these diversified activities is shown in the following table.

Table 6

Public School Teachers' Attendance at a Selected Number of Activities

Activity	Yes %	No %	Total %
Movies	72	28	100 (N-599)
Lectures	71	29	100 (N-598)
Social dances and parties	69	31	100 (N-594)
Sports	59	41	100 (N-594)
Plays	39	61	100 (N-599)
Concerts	21	79	100 (N-599)

It can be seen that four out of ten teachers attend plays and two out of ten attend concerts. Teachers who participate most in a diversity of activities live in the metropolitan area. They show the following characteristics: most of them are male teachers, around 31 years old, have four or more years of college, and a specialization in secondary education. They teach at the secondary level in the San Juan area. In spite of this, there are a few significant variants. Married teachers whose spouses have a non-manual job and teachers from fourth to six grades generally have a more active participation. Movies, social dances, parties, sport activities are recreational activities more commonly used by Catholic teachers. On the other hand concerts and plays are attended mostly by non-catholics. Graduates from institutions other than U.P.R. attend lectures and sport activities in a higher number than those from the U.P.R.

Among teachers who attend the most common activity, the movies -- and those who attend the least one, concerts, the following characteristics are found in common. Most of them are single, males, of urban origin who have four or more years of college, a secondary school specialization and who teach in the San Juan area. One difference between the two types of recreationally oriented teachers is that the moviegoer is generally Catholic and teaches either in the urban or rural zone, whereas the concert-goer generally is a non-Catholic and teaches in the urban zone. Both types are about 31 years old.

The most significant fact shown by the previous data is the limited number of alternatives available to school teachers concerning cultural recreational activities. Besides lectures, the Puerto Rican teacher has very few other cultural activities that he can attend. Another important conclusion is the disproportionate limitation of cultural activities available to the rural teacher as compared to the urban teacher; the disadvantaged position of the elementary school teacher compared to the secondary school teacher, and the privileged position of teachers from San Juan in comparison with other educational regions on the island.

B. Use of leisure time: This aspect of the teacher's life is very important in appraising his particular style of life. Table 7 shows the frequency distribution of activities of teachers during their leisure time:

Table 7

Use of Leisure Time by Public School Teachers

Activity	Frequency	Percentage*
Reading	1315	53
Working around the house and garden	195	33
Movies	135	23
Sports, table games	132	22
Going to church, giving religious classes	119	20
Traveling around the island	103	17
Going to parties	58	9
Chatting with friends	49	8
Sewing	48	8
Painting, writing	42	7
Listening to music, watching T. V.	18	3
Woodwork, mechanics	15	2
Raising pets	14	2
Attending lectures, plays, museums	12	2
Sleeping	8	1
Baking	5	0.8
Collecting items	4	0.7
Photography	2	0.3
Others	56	9
None	24	4
	1354 (N=599)	

Most of the leisure time is devoted to reading. However, a further analysis of their reading habits shows that these are rather limited.

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*This column adds up to more than 100% because each informant could give more than one answer.

Other important activities performed by teachers are the following: working around the house and backyard or garden, going to the movies, sports, table games, going to church, teaching religion (Cathechism) and traveling around the island.

All available information shows that school teachers tend to do the same things that people do ordinarily. Obviously they don't seem to be concerned with any great cultural preoccupations - highbrow culture - neither do they seem to have much involvement in civic activies. The extracurricular activities of their job keep them busy after school hours and whatever little time is left is devoted to individual enjoyment. This personal enjoyment may go from doing some work in the garden or around the house to some friendly chatting with the neighbors; it may also involve taking a nap or even just doing nothing. Very seldom do teachers use their free time for the pursuit of cultural and humanistic values. This is also evident in the type of music they prefer to listen to. About one out of 5 teachers shows preference for classical music. The vast majority prefer popular or semi-classical music; in the semi-classic genre, waltzes are include; and Puerto Rican danzas and country music in the popular one.

C. Non-professional readings: Outside the material read for the courses they teach, school teachers do very little reading. At the time of the interview, 70% of them said they were not doing any reading. On the other hand, 60% said they had not read a book in more than two months, others could not remember how long ago they had read their last book and others said that they had not read anything at all. Also, 73% said they devoted five or less hours weekly to reading books or magazines.

A comparison between the group who was reading some book at the time of the interview and that which was not reveals that the group who did most of the reading was comprised by male teachers, single, non-Catholic, from an urban non-manual origin. They also have four or more years of college training, specialized in secondary education with an academic index above average and work in the secondary level in the urban zone. Among school teachers who devote most of their leisure time to reading, those who read more are teaching courses in humanities at the secondary level or teaching from grades four to six in the elementary level. Teachers taking courses at the University do more reading than those who are not. Those from San Juan read more than those from any other educational region, while teachers from Ponce and Caguas do the least reading of all. Teachers who read more showed a higher degree of dissatisfaction about their high school and college education as well as the grade, the subject and the school level they were teaching. All this information is summarized in Table 8.

Among the books which school teachers were reading at the time of their interview were the following ones:

In Spanish: *Entremeses* (Short plays), *The Great Classics*, *Christ is not dead*, *Heights of America*, *Cultural Anthropology*, *Terrazo*, *The Prodigal*, *The Tragic Feeling of Life*, *Meditations on Don Quijote*, *The Divine Feeling of the Human*, *Virgilio Dávila: His Life and Works*, *Acosta and his Time*, *The Origin of Religions*, *The Rising Sun*, *Fountains in the Desert*, *The Newlyweds*, *Life of Dostoevsky*, *Red and Black*, *The Way*

Table 8

Selected Characteristics of public school teachers according to whether they were doing some reading at the time of the survey

Characteristics	Reading of a book Yes (N-181)	No (N-416)
	%	%
1. Sex		
Male	37	63
Female	24	76
2. Status		
Single	36	64
Other	30	70
3. Place of birth		
Rural	28	72
Urban	33	67
4. Father's occupation		
Non-manual	28	72
Manual	34	66
5. Religion		
Catholic	29	71
Other	38	62
6. College drop-out		
Yes	37	63
No	26	74
7. College attended		
U.P.R.	31	69
Other	28	72
8. Academic training		
B.A. or less	24	76
B.A. or more	33	67
9. Specialization		
Elementary	26	74
Secondary	34	66
10. Academic index		
2.00 - 2.49	28	72
2.50 - 4.00	33	67
11. School level		
Elementary	25	75
Secondary	33	67

Table 8
(Continuation)

Characteristics	Reading of a book Yes (N-181)	 No (N-416)
	%	%
12. Grade taught		
k - 3	15	85
4 - 6	30	70
13. Subject taught		
Humanities	42	58
Natural Science	30	70
Vocational	29	71
14. School zone		
Rural	27	73
Urban	32	68
15. Attending college		
Yes	36	64
No	29	72
16. Evaluation of high school		
Good or very good	28	72
Not so good	33	67
17. Evaluation of college		
Good or very good	28	72
Not so good	33	67
18. Prefers to teach other grade		
Yes	27	73
No	18	82
19. Prefers teaching other subject		
Yes	36	64
No	30	70
20. Prefers teaching other level		
Yes	35	65
No	27	73
21. Educational region		
San Juan	35	65
Ponce	25	75
Mayaguez	33	67
Caguas	25	75
Humacao	33	67
Arecibo	28	72

of the Bible.

In English: *Hide and Seek*, *God is My Co-Pilot*, *Animal Behavior*, *Peyton Place*, *The Count of Montecristo*, *My Fair Lady*, *The Museum of Modern Art*, *Two Worlds of Music*; *A Tree Grows in Brokklyn*, *The Looking-Glass War*.

As it was very possible that some teachers had done some reading immediately before the survey was done, they were requested to indicate how long ago had they read their last book. Four out of ten said that they had last read a book around a month before. A fourth of them said that they had last read a book from two to six months before, and a third of them declared they couldn't remember how long it was since they had last read a book. The respective percentages are as follows: 41%, 25%, 34% for each category. It should be mentioned here that it is of serious concern to know that a great majority of the teachers in Puerto Rico were not doing any reading at the time of the interview. This situation gets worse when one takes into consideration that a third of the teachers did not even remember when they had last read a book.

In order to have an idea of what kind of reading had been done by those who remembered, irrespective of the date when it was read, they were asked to mention the tittle of the last book read. Those who could remember mentioned the following titles:

Literature:

Hamlet, *Delta Without River*, *The Brothers Karamazov*, *The Hundred Poems*, *Wuthering Heights*, *Exemplary Novels*, *The Grave of the Living*, *Doña Barbara*, *Miau*, *Terrazo*, *The Plague*, *Yuyo*, *Don Quixote*, *Jane Eyre*, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, *Quo Vadis*, and *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

Non-Fiction:

General History of the World, *Man and Society*, *I was Castro's Prisoner*, *Morphology of Human Beings*, *Medieval Philosophy and History*, *The World Through Ages*, *Life of Christ*, *The Second World War*, *The Ten Masterworks by José Campeche*, *Ancient Greek Historians*, *Rodin's Life*.

Other Books:

Our Home and Children, *Conjugal Happiness*, *Focus on the Family*, *Child Care*, *How to Make Friends*, *Child Psychology*.

Table 9 shows the characteristics of teachers who had read at least one book six months prior to the interview, compared to teachers who could not remember the title of the last book they had read or those who had not done any reading at all.

Most readers are males, single and non-Catholic. Among married teachers there are more readers among those married to a spouse with a non-manual occupation. Teachers who do not read or do not remember when they last read a book are mostly women.

Those who read are more or less evenly distributed among graduates from the University of Puerto Rico and other private colleges. Those who do not recall when they read a book last are more frequent among graduates from the University of Puerto Rico. The proportion of readers is higher among those who have more years of college training and a specialization in secondary education. Also, more readers are found among the younger teachers who work in the higher grades of the elementary

Table 9

Selected Characteristics of Public School Teachers Regarding the Last Time They Had Read a Book for Pleasure

Characteristics	Time since the last reading done Less than a month to six months or over (N-384)	Can't say when (N-111)	No reading (N-84)
	%	%	%
1. Sex			
Male	73	16	11
Female	59	23	18
2. Status			
Single	71	11	17
Other	65	21	14
3. Religion			
Catholic	65	20	15
Other	71	18	11
4. Husband's occupation			
Non-manual	66	19	15
Manual	59	26	15
5. Evaluation of high-school			
Very good and excellent	61	22	17
Good, not so good	70	17	13
Very poor	75	17	8
6. College attended			
U.P.R.	65	22	13
Other	67	14	19
7. College drop-out			
Yes	71	17	12
No	63	21	16
8. Academic training			
Less than B.A.	60	23	17
B.A. or more	68	18	14
9. Specialization			
Elementary	61	21	18
Secondary	69	18	13
10. Type of contract			
Permanent	64	22	14
Other	70	15	15

Table 9
(Continuation)

Characteristics	Time since the last reading done: Less than a month to six months or over (N-384)	Can't say when (N-111)	No reading (N-84)
	%	%	%
11. Years of experience			
9 or less	70	16	14
10 or more	60	25	15
12. Teaching level	—	—	—
13. Grade taught			
K - 3	48	28	23
4 - 6	65	20	15
14. Subject taught			
Humanities	72	15	13
Natural Science	66	19	15
Vocational	72	21	7
Other	66	15	19
15. Prefers teaching other level			
Yes	71	15	14
No	63	22	15
16. Prefers teaching other subject			
Yes	66	19	15
No	73	15	12
17. Interrupted teaching			
Yes	62	22	16
No	70	17	13
18. Attending college			
Yes	70	14	16
No	65	21	14
19. Educational region			
San Juan	66	16	17
Ponce	71	14	15
Mayaguez	62	22	15
Caguas	67	20	13
Humacao	61	26	13
Arecibo	69	19	12

school system. The proportion of readers is smaller in the educational regions of Caguas, Mayaguez and Humacao.

It is worth mentioning that having or lacking a relative in the teaching profession has no influence whatsoever in interest in reading. Neither is any influence seen with other variables such as the school organization, place of origin and residence or the academic index. Even in spite of the fact that seven out of ten teachers at the time of the interview were not doing any reading, the majority expressed their preference for serious literature. They mentioned the following works as examples of serious literature: Life of Kennedy, Lorca's Bernarda Alba, Pepita Jiménez, La Charca, History of the Second World War, Donkey as Brother, and Hamlet.

The following titles are classified as non-serious literature: Reader's Digest Selections, Conjugal Happiness, How to Stop Worrying and Start Living, and some fictional works.

The 38 teachers who said they do not read any serious literature are mostly married women whose husbands are employed in manual occupations. They are graduates from the University of Puerto Rico with an academic index higher than the average. They live in urban non-mentropolitan areas and work in schools with single enrollment in the urban zone.

The lack of interest in reading shown by teachers in Puerto Rico, is also evident when they are asked how much time they devote weekly to reading books and magazines not dealing with dadactic teaching materials. The answers show what sort of publications they read and the amount of time devoted to reading.

The titles of the publications they read and their classification follows:

Professional:

El Sol (The Sun), National Education Association, Education.

Religious:

The Miraculous Lady (La Milagrosa), Aguas Buenas (Courses in Religion).

Lutheran:

General Information:

Life, Reader's Digest, Bohemia, Look, Vanidades, Legion, Popular Mechanics, Sports, Parent's Magazine, Good Housekeeping, Red Cross, Student's Encyclopedia.

Cultural:

Surcos, Bayoán, Instituto de Cultura Publishing, Asomante, Musical Opera News, Guajana.

Specialized:

Audio-Electronic, What's New in Home Economics, B.C.C.S., Science News, Biology News, Scholastic Science Teacher's , Physics Digest, Balance Sheet, Gregg, Revista del Café, Agriculture, Department of Labor Magazine.

The frequency distribution and percentage for each genre is as follows:

Type of Magazine	Frequency	Percentage*
General Information	575	96
Professional	185	31
Specialized	59	10
Religion	33	6
None	8	1
Cultural	4	0.7
Others	4	0.7

As can be seen from the above figures the most widely read magazines are those on general information. The professional classification comes next. Only a few teachers read cultural or technical magazines or those concerning their specialization. It is worth pointing out that the use of printed mass media tends to be exclusively restricted to U. S. and Puerto Rican publications and that most teachers read magazines that rank low on the cultural and intellectual scale.

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*This column adds up to more than 100% because each informant could offer more than one answer.

Regarding books, teachers apparently prefer what might be called "serious literature". However, it must be clear that although only 38 teachers admitted they had done non-serious reading, about 28% could not tell the title of the book read and it was not possible to classify the reading done. Besides, the fact that 25% of the teachers were taking courses at the University when the interview took place may have influenced the opinion of those who preferred serious reading. Regarding this last group it was impossible to determine whether the reading was done for personal interest or whether it was required material for the courses being taken at the University. In spite of everything, the general tendency seems to be that teachers are mostly inclined to read "serious literature".

The survey revealed that teachers give very little time to reading material not required by the courses they are teaching: less than one hour daily. In other words, seven out of ten teachers spend less than five hours weekly on this activity. Of these, 70% spend less than three hours weekly and one third of this 70% spends less than an hour weekly.

On the other hand, we found that three out of ten teachers spend over six or more hours weekly reading material not required for school work; 47% within this group spends ten or more hours weekly on this activity.

If the group of teachers is divided into those who read less than three hours weekly and those who read more than 3 hours weekly, it is found that those who do the least reading are females, married, Catholic and from manual origins. This group generally is composed of U.P.R. grduates who have specialized in elementary education and ussually teach one of the 1st grades in the elementary school. They consider that their first year of experience was either fair, bad or very bad. Most of these teachers work in the educational region of Humacao. (Notice Table 10).

No relationship was found between the time given to weekly reading of non-required material and the following variables: age, place of residence, years of experience, type of contract, place of birth or bringing up, academic training, academic index, or whether taking any courses at the University.

If the group is further divided in two different time groupings - those who read five hours or less weekly and those who read more than six hours - it is observed that some of the previously mantioned relationships tend to disappear. Those characteristics that tend to remain significant show that the group which gives the shortest time to reading unrequired material are mostly women whose specialization is elementary education, who teach one of the first three grades in the elementary school and had rather negative experiences during their first year of teaching. They are generally teaching in the regions of Humacao and Caguas.

When comparisons are made between the sub-group of 77 teachers who devoted most time to reading and the 25 teachers who did not read at all, the following differences emerge: the most active readers are male teachers, 31 years old or less, from non-manual origin. The less active readers are female teachers, 32 years old and over, from manual origins. The most active ones have four or more years of college, and they are U.P.R. graduates whose specialization is secondary education while the least active group is just the opposite. The active readers also have a much higher academic index, fewer years of experience and work in schools with single school enrollment. The non-readers not only show all the opposite qualities, but claim that they feel satisfied with the level and the grade that they teach; however, they admit that their first year of experience was rather negative. Finally, it may be noted that the active readers are almost evenly distributed among those of rural and urban origin, whereas the non-readers are mostly found among those of urban origin.

D. Travel: Another important aspect of the cultural background of teachers is travel. The research done in this area reveals that seven out of ten teachers have travelled outside the island, the place most visited is the U.S.A.

Although most of the school teachers have travelled outside of Puerto Rico, one-third has never gone outside the island. Most of them are Catholic, female teachers, and graduates from the U.P.R. They have less than four years of college, still are taking courses towards the B.A., their field of specialization is in elementary education and they teach the first grades of the elementary school in the rural zone. They are predominantly in the educational region of Humacao and Arecibo. They would also like to teach some other grade in school.

Table 10

Characteristics of public school teachers regarding the weekly period of time devoted to the reading of non-required school material

Characteristics	Weekly time 3 hours or less (N-301) %	Over 3 hours (N-289) %
1. Sex		
Male	45	55
Female	56	44
2. Status		
Single	55	45
Other	49	51
3. Father's Occupation		
Non-manual	51	49
Manual	61	39
4. Religion		
Catholic	52	48
Other	48	52
5. College attended		
U.P.R.	54	46
Other	46	54
6. Specialization		
Elementary	57	43
Secondary	46	54
7. Teaching level		
Elementary	59	41
Secondary	47	53
8. Grade taught		
K - 3	74	26
4 - 6	60	40
9. School zone		
Rural	55	45
Urban	49	51

Table 10
(Continuation)

Characteristics	Weekly time	
	3 hours or less (N-301) %	Over 3 hours (N-289) %
10. Evaluation of first Year of experience Very good	46	54
11. Educational region		
San Juan	49	51
Ponce	49	51
Mayaguez	41	59
Caguas	36	64
Humacao	62	38
Arecibo	46	54

The following list shows the places most frequently visited by the Puerto Rican school teachers.

Table 11

Places mostly visited by the Puerto Rican public school teachers

Place visited	Frequency	Percentage*
U.S.A.	363	85
Caribbean Area	146	34
Asia	75	17
Central America	76	18
Europe	74	17
Canada	40	9
South America	26	6
Others	9	2
	809 (N=429)	

* This column adds to more than 100% because each informant could give more than one answer.

As can be seen from the previous table that the most frequently visited places are the U.S.A. and the Caribbean area. This is justified by the fact that travel rates area less expensive in these places due to the air traffic between such areas and the island.

An analysis of the places visited in terms of continents, shows that eight out of every ten are located in the North American continent. In short, the school teachers have very few opportunities to expand their cross-cultural dimensions, except to visit the U.S. This cultural limitation is evident in the purpose for taking such trips. The two main reasons for travel are pleasure and military service.

Table 12

Public School Teacher's Reasons for Traveling

Purpose	Frequency	Percentage*
Pleasure	218	51
Military reasons	175	41
Working reasons	41	10
Study	40	9
Cultural interests	39	8
Familiar reasons	17	4
Residence	17	4
Others	16	4
	563 (N-429)	

*This column adds to more than 100% because each informant could give more than one answer.

The motivations of study or cultural interests are very limited. However, this does not mean that teachers have not improved their cultural experiences. The point is that the trips have not been previously planned with the ulterior motive of cultural pursuit.

E. Participation in professional organization: The following list comprises the types of organizations Puerto Rican school teachers may join.

Professional:

National Science Association, Association of Educational Practice, Vocational Rehabilitation Association, National Education Association, (N.E.A.), Audivisual Association (D.A.V.I.), Honor National Association, and Law International Association. Although the Puerto Rican Teachers Association comes under this heading it is being studied separately.

Religious:

Legion of the Virgin Mary, Daughters of Mary. Courses in Religion (Cursillistas), Catholic Daughters, Youth's Association, and Rosicrucians.

Civic:

Lions Club, Rotary Club, Lion's Tamers (Domadoras), Club Exchange, Professional and Business Women's Association, Red Cross, Civil Defense, American Legion, Civic Club, Boy and Girl Scouts, Parents' Clubs and Lodges.

Social Activities:

Fraternities, Sororities, Shooting clubs and Good Friends Club.

Cultural:

Puerto Rican Atheneum, Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, The Book Club and alumni associations.

Political:

Chapters of the political parties or other political organizations. The frequency distribution for each type of organization is as follow:

Table 13

Membership organizations in which the school teachers are involved

Organization	Frequency	Percentage*
P.R.T.A.	373	71
Civic	160	31
Religious	139	27
Professional, except A.T.P.R.	122	23
Social	177	22
Financial	103	20
Cultural	51	10
Political	13	3
Others	2	0.3
	1080 (N-524)	

Although membership in various organization will be discussed more extensively in another chapter, it should be mentioned that seven out of ten teachers belong to some professional organization, whereas a third of them belong to some civic organization.

A little over one-fourth belongs to some religious organization while membership in political or cultural organizations is rather very limited.

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* This column adds to more than 100% because each informant could give more than one answer.

The life style of the Puerto Rican school teacher has been studied in the following areas: place of residence, economic situation and cultural background. In the first two -place of residence and economic situation - the group of teachers showed traits common to Puerto Rican society in general. These are: residential mobility, especially from the rural zone to the urban or metropolitan area; a low rate of savings and a high rate of debts and loans with a rather low income. Regarding the cultural ambience, the third item studied, the group showed very neglected reading habits, very poor taste in the selection of professional and non-professional reading material. Interest in cultural activities or travels is very poor as is also participation in social activities. In short, school teachers in Puerto Rico are revealed as social beings with no great cultural preoccupations, and certainly no "highbrow culture"; neither are they much worried about citizenship and civic goals, as revealed by their membership in organizations of this nature.

Chapter II.

Public School Teachers' Ideology: Their Ambitions and Degree of Tolerance

The ideology of public school teachers as an integrated group in Puerto Rican society has been analyzed from the following points of view: a) value ascribed to various things in life, b) degree of tolerance shown with regard to the discussion of controversial issues in the class room and c) their attitude towards teachers of different political and religious ideas.

A relationship has been established between teachers' responses and forty independent variables which were considered important for the analysis of the data. Out of these independent variables, 14 are sociological variables: sex, fathers' occupation, civil status, etc.; 11 proffesional ones: years of experience, type of contract, teaching level, etc.; 8 psychological (representing a certain position towards a given situation): evaluation of high school education, preference of teaching level, preference of type of school, future plans to continued teaching, etc.; and four academic: college years completed, specialization, academic index and attendance in college courses at the time of the interview. The purpose is not only to point out the interrelationship of the related facts, but also to characterize the human types peculiar to the various tendencies manifested.

A. Value ascribed to various things in life. In order to obtain information regarding the evaluation of life in general, 29 different situations were put to the subjects and they were asked to indicate the degree of importance given each one on a five-point scale ranging from very much importance to none. All answers were given a numerical value in order to determine an average rating and a rank within the value scale. Thenthe rank and numerical average is related to the actual attainment of those things (achievement level) which the individual considers important. (See Table 1 of the appendix).

A working hypothesis assumed that teachers would give a higher rank to things already possessed or attained by the subjects and a lower rank to those not possessed or attained. The actual analysis proved not to be that simple because the results of the correlations were not uniformly applicable to the various situations and showed that the hypothesis was partially applicable in some cases while in others it was not.

The things to which school teachers ascribe more importance fall into what we may call the traditional values of Puerto Rican culture. For example, to be honest and upright, to have a united family and to be religious, are the attributes of major importance for teachers, and most of them believe they possess such attributes (see Table 1).

If we consider that the esteem given to these three concepts bring the Puerto Rican teacher closer to the ideal of the traditional man, then we can say that teachers are basically attached to a traditional orientation. This is rather more obvious in those aspects concerning personal worthiness - to be honest and upright, to have a united family - than to the religious aspect. Therefore, eight out of ten teachers consider that being honest and having a united family is of

Table 1

Important Things in Life

	Evaluation*		Achievement Level			
Category	Rank	Average Rating	Has It %	Wishes It %	Wants it and trying to get it - % -	Not interested %
To be honest and upright	1	3.76	76	22	2	-
United family	2	3.75	64	30	6	-
To be religious	3	3.73	75	15	7	3
To have a good education	4	3.63	33	43	24	-
To be considered a good citizen	5.5	3.60	49	40	8	3
To be capable in a job	5.5	3.60	45	40	15	-
To be considered a good husband or wife	7	3.49	49	40	8	3
To be considered a good parent	8	3.47	52	39	6	3
To be considered a good son or daughter	9	3.43	72	23	2	3
To be considered a good professional	10	3.40	40	44	14	2
To live up to the income earned	11	3.28	58	27	14	1
To have a library in the house	12	3.09	42	41	16	1
To make a good salary	13	3.08	26	62	11	1
To own a good house	14	3.01	49	34	15	2
To have friends among people of prestige	15	2.68	46	32	10	12
To write a book	16	2.32	2	55	4	39
To travel for pleasure frequently	17	2.31	5	58	8	29
To live in a nice section	18	2.14	41	20	7	32
To have an active social life	19	2.13	24	33	3	40
To have a T.V. set	20	2.12	90	3	2	5
To have many children	21	1.99	18	37	4	41

* Values range from 4 to 0 corresponding to the following alternative: Very much (4), much (3), fair (2) little (1), none (0).

Table 1
(Continuation)

	Evaluation		Achievement Level			
Category	Rank	Average Rating	Has It %	Wishes It %	Wants it and trying to get it - % -	Not interested %
To have a good classical record collection	22	1.92	14	39	12	35
To have a nice car	23	1.82	45	27	9	19
To be president of a civic organization	24	1.79	7	26	2	65
To own a beach or country house	25	1.52	9	33	3	55
To have a good popular record collection	26	1.51	28	20	5	47
To have a good stereo	27	1.39	52	15	3	30
To have a good position and many employees	28	1.35	5	15	3	77
To have a house with bar and back porch	29	.72	5	7	1	87

very much importance in life, while only five out of ten consider that being religious is just as important. However, this should not to be taken to mean that the impact of modernizing forces, like industrialization and secularization of modern life, have influenced the school teachers' attitudes to the extent of neglecting the importance attributed to religion in man's life. On the contrary, not only do half of the subjects see religion as a very important thing in life, but only one out of ten think of this as having average importance and none of them believe that it is unimportant. Evidently, to be religious is still an important goal, but modern life's impact and change have been stronger on the religious aspect among school teachers than the other two aspects.

The group of teachers who think of (a) "being honest" and having (b) "a united family" or less importance than the group as a whole, show the following characteristics: they come from homes of manual origins and they are not very happy about the subject they are teaching. The group of teachers who ascribe (a) "being honest" lesser importance is composed of persons who never dropped college, have some relative in the teaching profession, never took up any other kind of job, are younger than the rest of their colleagues, have longer experience, teach the secondary level and are Catholics.

Teachers who give less importance to the concept of (b) "united family" are mostly bachelors who gave a rather negative evaluation of their college training and their first year of experience in teaching. They did another kind of work before teaching, and generally teach from the fourth to the sixth grade in the rural zone. If they happen to work

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in the secondary level they teach one of the natural sciences.

Those who give less importance to the (c) "religious aspect in man's life", have some common traits with those who give less importance to "being honest" and to have "a united family". Group (c) is similar to group (a) by being younger Catholics who teach at the secondary level. They are similar to group (b) in that both are males teaching the fourth to sixth grades at elementary level or else one of the natural sciences at the secondary level. The teachers in group (c) show the peculiar quality of not having tenure and expressing the highest dissatisfaction with regard to the grade, the subject and the level they perform as teachers.

The above mentioned examples show two fundamental facts: (1) the impact of modern life is diverse upon the ideological development pertaining to society; (2) this impact is not uniform among the aggregate individuals of a particular society. A change in a particular ideological aspect may present a change only in a particular type of person because the modernizing experience is not necessarily a uniform one. These implications are further demonstrated in the typological analysis of the teachers who claimed that they had not attained those goals but wished them or were trying to attain them. School teachers who admit that they have been unable to attain the "ideal of honesty", but wish for and try to attain that ideal have some traits in common with the groups of teachers who wish to attain the ideal of "unified family" or the ideal quality of "being religious". But at the same time they differ significantly in other aspects from the groups that wish to attain either the "ideal unified family" or the "religious ideal". In other words, the characterization that will emerge is a triple typology and not a single one despite the general congruences with regard to the three traditional values.

The next set of situations which the subjects also hold in great esteem is in the same category of values characteristic of the traditional Puerto Rican culture. Here we find situations like being considered a "good citizen", a "good husband", a "good father", a "good son".[1] A great majority attaches to all of them very much or much importance. Only a few of the subjects studied, 5% to 7% ascribe to them fair importance and 1% think they are unimportant.

Assuming that teachers giving the highest evaluation - very much importance - to each of these situations represent the highest traditional evaluation in society and that the others are the lesser representatives of the same attitude would lead one to expect a common classificatory typology for each one of the two differing groups. Actually we find that neither group has a certain cluster of significant variables to classify them as "a certain type". Teachers who express a preference for the various traditional aspects do not have similar traits that permit them to be described or classified as "peculiar subjects", as "a type". Thus we find that married teachers ascribe a very high importance to being considered a "good citizen"; and also married teachers consider it very important to be a "good husband"

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[1] See column one in Table 1 (appendix).

and a "good father", but civil status does not permit us to differtite significantly between those who give very much importance to being considered a "good son" and those who do not. In other words, although "traditionally oriented" subjects have the same valuation about these traditional concepts, they cannot be placed into the same typology; they have to be typed differently, under three labels. In short, the prevailing similarity in variants is not enough to allow classifying then into special types but rather three have to be designated in order to account for the diversities observed.

Although there is no common typology that can be applied to all those who have a high esteem for all traditional situations, there is a general tendency to find those teachers among the married ones, the older ones and those having more experience and working at the urban elementary level. These are also the ones who verbalize positive evaluations about their education in high school, their college education and their first year as teachers. If they happen to teach at the elementary level, they generally teach from kindergarten to the third grade. If they teach at the secondary level they generally teach liberal arts subjects. However, we must insist that there is no homogeneous typing among all those who show a higher esteem for traditional things in life. In other words, although a great majority of school teachers consider these situations of very much importance in one's life, in trying to describe them in sub-groups one has to design a heterogeneous sort of typology rather than a specific type. The examples included in the next table help to illustrate the point.

When comparing those who already have attained these things with those who wish to reach them, it can be observed that those who have already attained them are generally married persons, 32 or older, have been born in the rural zone and have a spouse in a non-manual occupation. Besides, they have tenure and the longest teaching experience. Although those who claim to have attained those mentioned traits - being "a good husband", a "good father" or "good husband", a "good father" or "good son" - have in common the previous characteristics, they also show some significant differences which set them aside from each other. Thus, teachers who consider themselves "good fathers" are predominantly from a manual origin and from large family households; whereas those who think of themselves as "good husbands" are the ones most satisfied with the grade and the subject they teach and "good sons" are mainly graduates from private colleges in natural sciences.

Teachers who claim not having any interest in being considered "good fathers, husbands, or sons" number only 16. These persons are from a manual origin and if married, the spouse is doing some non-manual work. Also, they were raised and live in urban areas and come from large households. They have four or more years of college with specialization in secondary education at the University of Puerto Rico and their academic average is below average. They generally teach the secondary level in the urban zone and, although they express a positive evaluation about the college training they had, the evaluation of the high school training and the first year of experience as teachers is rather negative. This group of 16 teachers is the most discontented with the educational system and they want to change not only from school level but also the grade and subject they teach.

Table 2

Significant Characteristics Shown by Teachers who Ascribe Very Much Importance to Traditional Things in Life

	Evaluation			
Characteristics	To be considered a good citizen	To be considered a good husband	To be considered a good parent	To be considered a good son
1. Married, others not single	*	*	*	NS
2. 32 years or over	*	NS	*	*
3. 10 or more years of experience	*	NS	*	*
4. Elementary level	*	NS	*	*
5. Urban Zone	*	NS	*	*
6. Grades K to 3	*	*	*	NS
7. High School evaluation: excellent or good	*	*	*	NS
8. College evaluation: excellent or good	*	*	*	NS
9. Spouse has manual occupation	*	NS	*	*
10. Evaluation of first year experience: excellent, good	*	*	*	*
11. Satisfied with subject taught	*	*	*	*
12. Tenure	*	NS	NS	*
13. Attending college	*	NS	*	NS
14. Satisfied with level taught	NS	*	*	*
15. Specialization in elementary education	*	NS	NS	NS
16. Rural origin	*	NS	NS	NS

Table 2
(continuation)

	Evaluation			
Characteristics	To be considered a good citizen	To be considered a good husband	To be considered a good parent	To be considered a good son
17. Catholic	*	NS	NS	NS
18. Four or more members in the family	*	NS	NS	NS
19. Females	NS	*	NS	NS
20. No previous work experience	NS	*	NS	NS
21. Never interrupted teaching	NS	*	NS	NS
22. Urban residence, not metropolitan	NS	*	NS	NS
23. Rural upbringing	NS	NS	*	NS
24. Less then four years of college	NS	NS	*	NS
25. College drop-out	NS	NS	NS	*
26. Prefers another type of school organization	NS	NS	NS	*
27. Rural residence	NS	NS	NS	*

This study points out the value and importance ascribed to education. The subjects rated a "good college education" in fourth place. This evaluation is above being a "good citizen", "good husband, father or son". Seven out of 10 teachers think a good education is to be very highly esteemed by anyone and practically none of the subjects think of this as having or no importance at all. This is not strange at all in our society where every social class expresses high educational aspirations and education is seen as the principal escalator for social mobility. If this happens to be a general attitude in our society, it is rather natural to expect the teaching profession to give it more preeminence.

When comparing the group of teachers who think of education as a "highly important thing" in anybody's life with the group who thinks of it as important, again we find that factors conditioning ideological valuations do not lend themselves to simple classificatory schemes. Let's take the first group, those who think that an education is "highly important". It becomes necessary to divide this group into two sub-groups: (1) those who think of it as highly important and have fewer of schooling than the average and (2) those who have the same opinion but more shooling than the rest of their colleagues. In the first group we find generally teachers in the elementary level who are attending university courses. The school organization under which they work is not of single enrollment and they prefer working in another shool level. Finally, most of them are married to a spouse in a non-manual job. The second group is mostly made up of single persons of urban origin who teach in the urban zone the grades from fourth to sixth or else they teach liberal arts courses at secondary level. Generally the evaluation of their first year of teaching is considered a positive summing up, one may say that convergence on a high regard for education comes from some teachers who seem to lack what they perhaps consider a good education, while the others who have the same opinion might do so precisely because they already haveattained such goal of a good education.

A similar situation is noticed among those who consider a good education less important. Two groups emerge in this category also: (1) The group with more schooling and (2) the group with less training who share the same opinion. The peculiar characteristics of each group are different although they both give the same rating to a good education. Although there is a similarity in the general appreciation of the value of education, the variables affecting this evaluation are different, preventing a narrow description of the subjects and making it necessary to expand and diversify categories within classificatory typologies.

From the ten situations that school teachers estimate as highly important, we find two that somehow show the impact of modern life:

(1) "to be competent, capable, in your work" and (2) to be considered a "good professional". These two statements are supposed to deviate from the personalized and traditional conception peculiar to the less modernized societies. In such societies generally, competence

and reliability in work isn't as important as the personal relationship of the employee with the structure of power influencing society. Therefore, what counts is not so much how capable the person is, but rather the web of relations of the person with the influential and the powerful. In brief, it is assumed that when teachers give a high value to "being capable in your work" it means a certain deviation from traditional concepts. This deviation is observed in this group of teachers who give a higher rank (5.5) in their value judgement to this situation as compared to that of a "good husband", "father" or "son" or "to be acquainted with persons of prestige". However, this doesn't mean that the acceptance of this element of professional capability can be interpreted as a total separation from the traditional conception and an acceptance of modernity. Rather, it shows that both orientations coexist.

Teachers seem to be much more concerned with "being capable in your job" than with being considered a "good professional". However, when this is applied to achievement levels there are no significant differences: approximately the same proportion of teachers indicates that they have attained the ideal of being "capable in the job" or the ideal of being considered a "reliable professional". An analytical comparison between these two groups is presented in order to establish which variants they have in common.

Those who give more importance to "being capable in the job" as well as those who verbalize a higher level of achievement in this area are generally males around 32 years or over, from a manual origin, having a longer training, more experience and from the urban shool zone.

Teachers who attribute more importance to this same aspect differ sifnificantly from those who feel the opposite, in that frequently they have specialized in secondary education, they have dropped college and the evaluations of their college training and the first year of experience are positive. Besides they work in a school organization which excludes single enrollment and they teach from kindergarten to third grade at the elementary level, and if at the secondary level they teach subjects in humanities or vocational courses.

Those showing a higher achievement level with regard to "capability in the job" are frequently residents of a metropolitan area who gave up teaching for a while, have tenure and teach liberal arts at the secondary level.

The higher evaluation and achievement level about being considered a "good professional" comes from teachers of rural origin (born and raised), married, 32 years or older, who have tenure, more experience, and are satisfied with the course and grade they teach.

The highest evaluation about the importance of being considered a "reliable professional", predominates among Catholic teachers at the elementary level or who teach vocational courses. Their first teaching experience as well as the evaluation of the college training they had were positive. The achievement level in this same aspect is higher among teachers from a non-manual origin (parent and spouse), with small households, and some relative in the teaching profession. They work in single enrollment, feel satisfied about

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the school level in which they teach, and if from the secondary level they teach natural sciences or vocational courses.

In brief, it can be said that teachers manifesting the highest evaluations have in common the fact that they are older and with longer experience. Those showing the highest achievement levels in terms of their ideals have in common that they are married and older, besides having tenure and a longer professional experience. So the two groups have in common that they are older and have more experience. Evidently, teachers showing higher achievement levels have more things in common than those who give higher evaluations.

So far, the ten situations that got a higher rating have been analyzed. On the other hand, among the situations which go the lowest ratings and the lowest ranks are indicators of social class: (1) the material indicators: house with a bar and back porch, stereo set, record collection, country house, car, T.V. set (2) a traditional indicator "to have a lot of children". Also among the lowest rank are two modern indicators of social mobility: (1) "to have a good position and many employees" and (2) "to be president of a civic organization".

Every one of the material indicators except to "own a good home", which has a medium position, are considered of little importance. An interesting fact must be mentioned here although teachers manifested such judgment, they do not completely reject them as items of no importance. For instance, two out of ten teachers think that although having a T.V. set, a car, a good record collection or a country or beach house is not of exceedingly high importance, at least they are rather important. However, the majority of them think of these things as having average importance or less. Among the material indicators, the T.V. set gets the highest rating and "to own a house with bar and back porch" the lowest. The achievement level here shows that most teachers do own a T.V. set and that very few of them own "a house with bar and back porch". This is the indicator they would be least interested in possessing.

The data referring to material indicators show two tendencies: (1) an inferior evaluation of a particular indicator while a high achievement level is expressed with regard to its possession; and another of (2) an inferior evaluation and an inferior achievement level. The first one is centered around having a "T.V. set, stereo and car". The second one is centered around owning a "beach or country house or a house with bar and back porch". It seems most probable that the level of achievement is influenced by economic factors, particularly the low salaries that teachers get.

Other situations that get low ratings are the following: (1) "having many children", (2) "to be president of a civic organization", and (3) to "have a good position and many employees". The first one is very important, since it has always been a typical characteristic of the Puerto Rican family to the extent that some people consider it as one of its main values. However, it is not surprising to find that teachers give this trait a low rating if one bears in mind the close and high relationship that exist between the number of children and the number of school years completed. Thus, the finding that the higher the education, the less interest in "having many children" is expected. What is really surprising is that although 25% of the teachers in our sample think it very important to "have many children", the proportion of teachers who would really wish, want and try to "have many children" is almost twice as high as the proportion who think of this as being very important. This is due to the fact that more than half of those who consider of little or no importance having "many children" manifested that they would like to have "many children".

Let us examine the differences between those who think it is very important and those who think it is no important "to have many children", as well as those who have and have no interest in having "many children". Teachers who think it is very important to have "many children" are generally females, married to spouses in a non-manual occupations and in a family household of three or fewer members. They generally have tenure in the urban zone and teach from first to third grades of the elementary level. Those who want and try to have "many children" are frequently married teachers whose spouses have non-manual occupationals of urban origin (born and raiced) teaching in any school level, but probably natural sciences or vocational courses if they are at the secondary level.

Among the ten situations with lesser ratings there are two which are obviously representative of the middle class ethic in industrialized or urbanized countries: "to be president of a civic organization" and "to have a good position with many employees". It is rather surprising that this group of teachers, themeselves members of the Puerto Rican middle class, give very little importance to these indicators of modern social mobility. From one teacher out of ten three out of ten consider these two aspects very much important or very important in life; and from two out of ten to three out of ten teachers state that they either have it, wish it, or are trying to get it. The proportion of teachers who expressed their wishes to attain this goal is larger than the proportion of those who want it and are trying to reach it.

This minor interest in what may be considered as modern indicators of status and prestige perhaps might be explained by the fact that public shool teachers, in general terms, still feel identified with the traditional indicators of status and prestige. This generalization seems to be confirmed when it is observed that "being acquainted with persons of prestige", an indicator of traditional orientation, remains in the middle of the rank distribution very much above to the most modern indicators. In other words, the Puerto Rican school teachers believe that in anybody's life it is more important "to be around people of prestige" than "to be president of a civic organization" or "to have agood position with a lot of employees".

In general terms, seven out of ten teachers have no interest whatsoever in having "a good position with a lot of employees" nor "to be president of any civic organization". There is, nevertheless, a dissident minority that has internalized the most modern views and asserts that they already have attained one of these goals or wish it or are trying to reach it ("to be president of a civic organization" or "to have a good position with a lot of employees").

There are no fundamental differences among those who give a lot of importance to "having a good position with many employees" and those who give less importance to this. However the trend among the latter is for a greater proportion of teachers who are not

Catholic and who teach from fourth to sixth grades in the elementary level. But there is a very obvious difference between the two groups when compared by level of achievement in regard to this goal. It is observed that those who have attained it, wish it or are trying to reach it ("good position with many employees") differ singnificantly from those who have no interest in this. The first ones (high achievement) are generally male teachers around 31 or younger, married to spouses who have manual occupations, reside and teach in the rural zone, have an academic index below average and attended some private college after having dropped out of college. Professionally speaking, they have positive experiences from their first year of teaching, they don't work under a single-enrollment shool organization and they would rather teach some other subject. The low achievers show the opposite characteristics.

If many differences were not found among those who offered a high evaluation and those who manifested a high level of achievement in regard to "having a good position with many employees", this does not happen with the wish of "being president of a civic organization". In this situation a high relationship is observed among teachers who give a high evaluation to this goal and those who express a high level of achievement. Both groups are mostly made up of male teachers of rural origin, who live in the rural zone and are married to spouses who have manual jobs. Besides, they have no relatives in the teaching profession; they were forced to drop out of college and had some other kind of job before taking up teaching. With regard to professional traits, most of them have less than four years of college with a specialization in elementary education, teach in the elementary level, and are most dissatisfied with the level and the subject they are teaching.

In relation to the above goals, one notes that the greatest acceptance of these two modern-oriented goals come from teachers who themeselves show objective indicators of low status. Another obvious fact is that the rural teacher is the one who shows more identification with this meddle class conception.

Regarding the other situations presented to teachers, it is worth mentioning that despite the poor financial conditions of teachers, due to the low salary they get, "to earn a good salary" is not one of the things they consider most important in life. This could mean that the financial orientation of this group is not high. However, the intellectual orientation of the group does not seem to be high either when it is observed that "writing a good book" is attributed very little importance although half of them expressed that they would like to do so. This lower intellectual orientation is also evident in the large proportion of teachers who do not have a library in their house, even though they would appreciate having it.

The analysis of the things that teachers think very important in life reveals a social concern, in terms of fundamental valuations regarding their society and culture, more than an economic concern or preoccupation for the material indicators of social class. Teachers who mostly deviate from this way of thinking tend to be younger ones with less experience who are teaching in the upper grades of the elementary school or at the secondary level. However, the most modern indicators of social status and prestige have had a stronger impact among the rural teachers.

It seems to us that the most important implications of the findings concerning this section are rather of a theoretical nature, both in a general as well as in a particular sense. In the general sense we have the diversified typological classification resulting from the need to expand and variegate group categories in order to have more relevant ideas concerning the phenomena dealt with in the study. The particular implications resulting from our conclusions are related to the nature of Puerto Rican society. There is a general tendency to speak about the great transformation that Puerto Rico has undergone on account of the impact of its changing economy. It is commonly assumed that physical changes have been accompanied by great changes in values. The data emerging from this study about the public shool teachers does not seem to support this way of thinking. It is true that many changes have taken place, but in spite of them what stands out is the importance that teachers still give to traditional aspects of Puerto Rican culture which are opposite to the materialistic orientation generally associated with urban economic development.

B. Teachers' tolerance in discussing controversial issues in the classroom. Another aspect of the ideological climate typical of the public school teachers relates to the verbalized attitude they assume in discussing controversial issues in the classroom and the position the teacher holds with respect to fellow teachers of different political and religious ideologies.

Table 3 shows the position held by school teachers in relation to discussing controversial matters in the classroom.

Table 3

Public School Teacher's Attitude in Discussing Selected Controversial Issues in the Classroom

Issues	Teacher's attitude towards discussion in classroom	
	Permissible %	Not permissible %
1. Racial problems in the U.S.A.	97	3(N-581)
2. Drug addiction	94	6(N-579)
3. War in Vietnam	93	7(N-578)
4. Foreign policy	92	8(N-581)
5. Sex problems	88	12(N-561)
6. Communism	88	12(N-572)
7. Political programs of local Puerto Rican parties	60	40(N-556)
8. Religious matters	52	48(N-558)

The analysis of the data reveals that 9 out of 10 teachers believe that the following matters can be discussed in the classroom: U.S.A. foreign policy, the War in Vietnam, racial discrimination in the U.S.A., drug addiction and matters pertaining to communism and sex. Teachers seem to be rather rigid in permitting the discussion of local affairs such as the political parties and their programs and religious matters. Only 6 out of 10 teachers would allow discussion of local political affairs; only 5 out of 10 would allow discussion of religious matters. It can be concluded that in spite of the tolerance shown by teachers about the extent of issues which can be discussed in the classroom, they show lesser tolerance regarding the religious and political aspects.

When asked if they would allow discussion in class about sex matters, 66 teachers said it could not be possible. This opinion predominates among male teachers married to a spouse in a manual occupation, who have no relatives in the teaching profession, and with an academic index below average. Teachers who are reluctant to discuss communism in the classroom stand out on account of their professional rather than personal qualities. They have specialized in elementary education, teach in the rural zone the lower grades of the elementary school, do not have four years of college and their academic index is below average. Also, they have no relatives in the teaching profession.

As it has already been pointed out, most of the opposition to controversial issues concerns religion and politics.

The group of teachers who is in opposition to discussing these two matters is generally made up of persons who are either single or married. If married, the spouse has a manual job. This less tolerant group lives in the urban non metropolitan area and shows the lowest academic index. The group can be described as one with little teaching experience, who either teach one of the first grades in the elementary level or teach natural sciences or vocational courses at the secondary level. Most of those who are against the discussion of political issues are Catholic teachers from the elementary level in the rural zone. The group against the discussion of religious subjects is made up of teachers who are not Catholic and are under 31.

There is a group of 40 teachers whose answers regarding the questions concerning the controversial matters and its discussion could not be classified. They were not against or in favor of it. They gave answers like this: "it depends on how it is done"; or "it depends on the teacher's ability to approach such problems", "it depends on which subject the issue is discussed —for instance in a biology class, sex can be brought in if you know how to do it", "if it is done without siding with any one point of view", "if it is done without revealing your personal ideals", "only for contrasting purpose", "in separate groups".

Teachers who express such views regarding the controversial matters on sex, communism, political parties and religion have the following characteristics: they are Catholic, married, 32 or older, females (except with regard to sex where male teachers are predominant). They had a middle-class background since their parents as well as their spouses are from a non-manual origin, and they never dropped out of college, neither did they ever have any other job before teaching.

In terms of academic characteristics they had 4 or more years of college at the University of Puerto Rico with specialization in secondary education, and their academic index is below average. They teach at the secondary level in the urban zone, and have relatives in the teaching profession but have less teaching experience than the average teacher in the group. Although they are satisfied with the level they teach, they are not satisfied with the grade or subject they are teaching.

The position of lesser tolerance of school teachers regarding religion and politics is more evident when they are asked whether they would allow persons of different political ideologies and religious ideas to be teachers (see Table 4). Although the majority would allow people affiliated to the Statehood, Popular or Independentist parties to be teachers, 7 out of 10 would object to persons who reject all religions or who have communist ideals. On the other hand, half of the teachers would allow a member of the Nationalist Party to be a teacher, around 16% would accept him on certain conditions and 34% would not allow such a person to be a teacher.

The same attitude is observed when school teachers were asked whether they would let teachers of different political ideology and religious ideas continue being teachers. The populares, the pro-statehood and independentists are accepted in the mentioned

Table 4

Attitudes of Public School Teachers Regarding Whether a Person of Different Political and Religious Ideas Should be Allowed to Become a Teacher or to Continue Teaching

Person's ideology	Would Allow it	Would Make Conditions	Would Not Allow it	Does Not Know	Would Allow it	Would Make Conditions	Would not Allow it	Does not Know
PPD Member	92	7	1	--	91	7	1	1
Pro-Statehood	92	6	1	1	91	7	1	1
Independentist	84	11	4	1	84	11	4	1
Nationalist	49	15	33	3	51	15	31	3
Against all religion	23	11	64	2	31	16	49	4
Communist	17	15	66	2	19	16	63	2

order. The greatest intolerance is shown for the nationalists, for those who reject all religions and for communists. In specific terms, this means that 9 out of 10 teachers would allow a person affiliated to the Popular Party to continue being a teacher, while only 4 out of 10 would allow this if such a person happened to have communist ideals. Out of these four, 2 would allow it only under specific conditions and 2 without any condition whatsoever.

In order to characterize the type of teacher who manifests more or less tolerance, further analysis was made of their opinions as to whether a person affiliated with the Nationalist Party, one who rejects all kinds of religions, or one who is a communist should or should not continue being a teacher. The data reveals that the most liberal persons —those who have less objection to a person being a teacher on account of ideological reasons— are mostly single, around 31 or younger and are not Catholic. In academic terms they have a specialization in secondary education, graduated with the highest academic indexes and have four or more years of college. They usually have less than nine years of experience, teach at the secondary level and do not have tenure.

Although the following variables do not differentiate the more liberal from the less liberal, the tendency is for these variables to be predominant among the most liberal teachers. They are mostly male teachers, and have a great urban background (born, raised and residing in the urban zone). Teachers living in the metropolitan area generally have more liberal attitudes. Also, graduates from the University of Puerto Rico tend to be more liberal than graduates from other colleges in the Island.

The analysis of the above data was also done in terms of an average index of liberalism. An index was established on the basis of a five point scale where the lowest number means a more liberal attitude and the higher number a less liberal one. The highest degree of liberalism corresponds to 12 points, the least amount of liberalism to 60 points. Actually, the highest index values were from 37 to 40. At first sight this seems to show the absence of extreme sectors of illiberalism among teachers. However, the fact that 6 of the questions were related to affiliations concerning the Popular, the Statehood or the Independentist parties, which have general acceptance in the Island, tends to lower the distribution. The distribution of the numerical values concerning the questions about the nationalists, the poeple against all religions and the communists refer to situations with little acceptance and tends to have an opposing effect. The combined effect of the questions was to concentrate the group of teachers in the middle of the distribution.

If the distribution is divided into three equal parts corresponding to intervals (1-20, 21-40, 41-60), it would show that 31% of the teachers would fall into the lower tercile, equivalent to the most liberal sector, 70% in the middle tercile and none in the upper tercile, equivalent to the less liberal section.

An arbitrary classification of the distribution into three parts has been done according to the following criteria: (1) an average of less than 20 points would describe the most liberal teachers, (2) one between 21-24 points describes the half-way liberal teachers and

(3) 25 points or above describes the least liberal ones.

The above classification confirms the previous analysis and the most liberal emerge as: the male teachers, single, 31 or younger and not Catholic. The urban experience stands out as a significant variable which differentiates between the most liberal and those who are less liberal.

A more liberal attitude is also confirmed among those who have four or more years of college with a specialization in secondary education and higher academic indices. The U.P.R. graduates are also shown to be more liberal, as well as those who teach at the secondary level, have less experience, and have no tenure. Another fact worth mentioning is that the most liberal teachers are also the most dissatisfied ones: they would like to teach at another school level and another grade or subject.

In brief, liberalism of attitudes regarding different ideologies among teachers show that the less liberal ones are married women, Catholic, 32 or older, working at the elementary level, where they usually have tenure and more years of experience although they have less than four years of college and a low academic index. Generally these teachers attended a private college and they feel satisfied with their teaching level. They tend to predominate in the educational region of Ponce and Arecibo and are less frequent in those of San Juan and Caguas.

It must be clearly understood that the liberal attitude shown by teachers presents diverse variations. Table 4 shows the position of teachers concerning each of the items previously discussed.

Actually, at the time of the interview, between 6% and 16% gave restrictive responses under which they would permit a person of a different political ideology or religious ideas to be a teacher or to continue in the teaching profession. Obviously, these limitations were more frequently applied to the nationalists, the people against all religion and the communists. Not so for the populares, the statehooders and the independentists, although for the latter ones restrictions were higher than for the other two political groups. Some of the restrictive conditions mentioned by teachers were:

> "It depends on what sort of person. If the person brings politics into the classroom, I would say no, but if the person has a broad concept of politics, it is all right. A Popular that does no indoctrination."
>
> "A person who does not use the classroom for propaganda."
>
> "It all depends, as far as he does not indoctrinate."
>
> "Shouldn't transmit his influence in class."
>
> "Only if they don't show any subversive qualities since we must preserve our democracy."
>
> "It's all right if they don't indoctrinate."
>
> "All right if their ideas are not detrimental to teaching."
>
> "If they keep their ideas under cover."
>
> "It all depends on his conduct and his work. He must show respect for those that believe in religion."
>
> "Under constant supervision, since students usually try to imitate the teacher."
>
> "All right if he doesn't express publicly his ideas."
>
> "If he doesn't make any reference to his beliefs."

> "He must go through a selection committee to judge his disposition and capabilities for teaching."

Teachers who place restrictions on persons who would become teachers or continue as teachers on account of their political or religious ideas are mostly female teachers, Catholic, over 32 and with parents and spouses in non-manual occupations. They are of urban origin (born, raised and residing in the urban zone), and have four years of college although their academic index is rather low. Generally they have tenure, although they have less than nine years of teaching experience.

The previous findings on teachers' liberalism show that they manifest attitudes reflected in the society at large. Reports on attitudes toward civil rights show a high degree of intolerance toward political and religious minorities. A society characterized by a high degree of intolerance for certain segments of the citizenry institutionalizes mental and psychological processes that fix and perpetuate those attitudes of intolerance. There is always the probability that those concepts that make up the way of thinking of public school teachers will be transmitted to their students and this may help to form and perpetuate a higher degree of intolerance toward those groups exhibiting the particular attributes rejected by teachers. This in our opinion, represents a challenge to the supposedly democratic Puerto Rican school system in its efforts to assure the same rights to all Puerto Ricans.

Chapter III

Ideology of the public shool teachers: their attitudes regarding education and social changes in Puerto Rico

The next subject to be dealt with regarding the ideologies of s teachers is their attitude towards various aspects of education and social change. The questions on education try to establish the teacher's opinion about the principal objective of the school; his degree of satisfaction with the amount of money invested in education; his evaluation of education in the public shool and his image of public and private schools.

Teachers generally judge school from an occupational and civic point of view. This is expressed by the fact that 8 out of 10 teachers believe that the main function of the school is "to make good citizens". Almost 2 out of 10 indicated that the most important aim should be to "provide youngsters with technical and professional training". Teachers who evaluate the public shool in civic terms are generally older. Catholics who have more professional experience, tenure, and usually teach in the elementary level. Those who give more importance to the technical and professional aspect of the school are also Catholics but mostly born and raised in rural areas, have less experience, and usually teach at the secondary level.

It is worth mentioning that very few teachers voice the opinion that schools should be responsible for "the formation of men of culture" or "developing a Puerto Rican feeling among the young people".

This minority is generally represented by the youngest male

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teachers, non-Catholics and working in single enrollment at the secondary level. They have four or more years of college training but do not have tenure and have less experience than the average teacher in the sample.

It seems that Puerto Rican teachers, disregard for the cultural purpose of education has been greatly influenced by the growing utilitarian conception of the aims of education. At the same time, the detachment seen between education and the formation of a genuine sense regarding the Puerto Rican individuality can be explained, to a large extent, to the impact of the assimilating forces that have always been in control of the educational system, as well as to the association of anything Puerto Rican with political elements from the left.

The civic and occupational emphasis given to education by school teachers has also been evident in those institutions where most of them have been trained. To the colleges and universities on the island, the cultural formation of man and self identity are of little importance. These colleges and universities are more than anything institutions in the service of forces which foster cultural erosion in the country. Obviously, teachers reflect these trends.

The teachers' opinion of the amount of money spent by government in education is definite: 6 out of 10 teachers think the amount is not enough. Those who have a different opinion, that the amount is enough or more than enough, are single persons living in urban non-metropolitan areas. They come from small families having no relatives in the teaching profession. In the academic aspect they have not finished a bachelor's degree, teach at the elementary level and have a low academic index. No relationship was found between teachers' opinion on government spending in education and the following variables: sex, social origin, experience, type of contract, school organization, age, school level nor location of school.

Teacher's evaluation of the quality of education given in public schools was done from two perspectives: 1. a comparison between student performance at the time of the interview and that accomplished ten years back. 2. a comparison between the quality of education in public and private schools.

The comparison of present performance and the one dating from ten years back reveals that most of the teachers think students learn more now than ten years ago -- 6 out of 10. However, 3 out of 10 think students don't learn as much and 1 out of 10 think they learn the same.

Teachers who think student performance is less now are mostly women 32 or older, specialized in secondary teaching, with 10 or more years of experience, and teaching at secondary level in the urban zone. At the time of the interview they were not going to college, and in general terms they praise highly the training they got in high school and college. The great majority of teachers who think student performance was higher in the past come from the San Juan area while the smallest number come from Mayaguez.

Teachers who think student performance is the same now, generally come from rural origins and are around 32 or older and non-Catholics. They have four or more years of college and the academic index is above the median distribution. Although they have tenure, they are not very happy teaching at the level they do and generally they teach one of the first three grades in the elementary level, or else they teach vocational subjects or some course in humanities at the secondary level.

The comparison between the quality of instruction in private and public schools does not show as definite results as the previous comparison. Four out of 10 teachers, think there is no difference between the quality of instruction given in private schools compared to the public schools. Nearly 3 out of 10 teachers believe that instruction is much superior in either one. There was no relationship between the type of school attended by the teachers' children and the evaluation that the teachers made. However, most of the teachers whose children attend public school give it a higher evaluation than those whose children go to private schools. Thus 4 out of 10 teachers whose children go to public school think it is far better than the private one; 4 out of 10 think there is no difference between the two and only 2 out of 10 think the private shool is far better than the public school.

Teachers who believe that the quality of instruction is better in the private school are generally females, single, under 32 and from non-manual social origins. They live in the metropolitan area or the rural zone and if they are married the spouses usually have a non-manual job. They have four or more years of college, are specialized in secondary education and their academic index is above the median. They usually teach a natural science at the secondary level, have nine or less years of experience, lack tenure, and most of them work in the San Juan educational region.

There are some similarities between teachers who think the quality of instruction is the same in both private and public schools and those who state that it is better in the private schools: both are females under 32 and from non-manual origins. However, the two groups differ in that the former are married, generally have less than four years of college and most of them work in the Caguas region.

The questions about the quality of instruction in private and public schools were followed by another set of questions requesting information on their image of each type of school. Of 397 teachers who had children attending school, 7 out of 10 said they were going to public school, 2 out of 10 went to private school and 1 out of 10 had children attending both types of school. It seems on the basis of these figures that most teachers prefer the public school. Those who prefer the private school are female teachers whose parents and spouses have non-manual occupations. Most of them are under 32 and born and raised in urban areas. They come from small families and usually have some relative in the teaching profession.

Regarding the academic and professional aspect, teachers whose children attend private school have four years of college, are specialized in secondary education and their academic index is below the median. Besides they teach at the secondary level, in urban places and are satisfied with the level and the subject taught, although they expressed having less positive experiences during the first year of teaching. The greatest number of children in private schools is from the Ponce and San Juan areas. The smallest number is found around Humacao.

In brief, it can be said that teachers' preference for private education are related to factors of social status: non-manual origins, urbanism and teaching at the secondary level. Dissatisfaction with academic or professional aspects of the profession do not affect significantly their preference for private education.

The reasons given by teachers for preferring private or public education or both is shown on table one.

The category "good teaching" includes opinions like the following: I have faith in the methods they use, it is up to the present Puerto Rican reality, their textbooks are in Spanish and suitable to our own ways, its curriculum is broader, it offers social and athletic activities, it is more challenging for the student, it demands more from the student besides giving more individual attention.

Regarding "economic conditions" they expressed this in terms of: tuition is free, lunch room program at the school, free textbooks, enrollment is free and scholarships.

The term "democratic quality" was mostly applied to public school, and it was interpreted to mean that public school is for everbody;

that it offers a more real environment because students mix with all social classes.

By "geographic reasons", is understood the proximity of the school to the neighborhood; "religious education" means that it has a "moral" education of a sectarian type while "reliable personnel" means that it has better-trained teachers.

Table 1

Reasons given by public school teachers to send their children to public, private or both types of schools

Reasons	Frequency	Percent*
Good teaching	176	44
Economic conditions	102	26
Democratic quality	82	21
Geographic reasons	56	14
Religious instruction	47	12
Reliable personnel	31	8
Parent works there	28	7
Better facilities	28	7
Discipline	22	5
Faith in that type of school	15	4
English teaching	13	3
Responsible parents	7	2
Other	42	10

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*This column adds up to more than 100% because each subject could give more than one answer. The percentage figures have been calculated on the basis of 397 teachers who had children attending schools. There was a total of 672 answers.

The fact that one of the parents was working in the school was given as a reason to justify preference for a particular type of school.

The category "better facilities", includes the following aspects: children are better looked after, the school offers transportation facilities, substitute teachers to keep students from missing a day's work when a teacher is absent.

"Discipline" refers to order and respect, and "faith in that type of school" refers to the personal commitment that the teacher felt he owed to a particular type of school.

Teachers who send their children to public school generally give the following reasons: quality of education, economic facilities and the democratic tendency of that type of school. Those who send their children to private school claim as principal reasons the religious education, the protection children get, it is the closest one in the area and because one of the parents works there.

When teachers were asked if they would liked to send their children to the other type of school, it was found that 7 out of 10 teachers whose children attend private school said they would have liked their children to attend public school. Only 3 out of 10 of those whose children go to public school said the same about having their children in private school. This may be interpreted to mean that most public school teachers have more confidence in the type of school where they work.

Teachers whose children go to public school and would like them to go to private school coincide with teachers whose children already go to private school in the following traits: female of a non-manual origin, satisfaction with the grade, the subject and the level they teach. They differ from the other group in that they were brought up in the rural area and live there; they have less than four years of college and most of them teach the first three grades in the elementary level, or vocational courses. Also, teachers who went to private colleges would like their children to attend private shool.

Teachers whose children go to private school and would like them to remain there are females of middle-class origins (whose parents and spouses are doing non-manual jobs), who never dropped out of college, and never did any other kind of work but teaching. They are of urban origin, mostly from the San Juan metropolitan area (born, raised and living in the urban areas), teaching secondary level and satisfied with their high school and college education as well as the level, the subject, and the grade they teach.

In conclusion, the expressed opinions of the public shool teachers indicate that the basic aims they ascribe to education are civic and occupational. They think that government spending on education is not enough and that the quality of today's education is better than ten years ago. The position they hold about the quality of education in public school compared to the private one is not as clear; however, they back public education and prefer it for educating their own children. The most outstanding disagreement in this last aspect is a reflection of the "indicators of class and urbanism".

The questionnaire also included a number of questions regarding social change. Their aim was to find out the degree of satisfaction with development in Puerto Rico during the last few years, their contribution to it and the ideas they have about the impact of social change on "interpersonal primary relations".

Teacher's opinion of development in the island during the last few years was elicited by presenting a number of graded alternatives in terms of satisfaction -- from very satisfied to very dissatisfied.

The most outstanding fact that emerges is the small number of teachers who are dissatisfied with progress in the island; 20 out of 599. This means that almost a hundred percent of teachers are satisfied. However, this satisfaction includes three different levels: "very satisfied", "somewhat satisfied", and "satisfied".

Teachers who show the highest degree of satisfaction with the island's development are mostly males 32 or older, of manual origin, and married to spouses who also have manual jobs. This means, in other words that they have experienced "occupational mobility" in relation to parental origins. In the professional level, they are specialized in elementary education, they have more experience and work in a non-single-enrollment school organization. The high degree of satisfaction with development on the island goes together with a high acceptance of teacher participation in that progress. However, in this area there is less uniformity of opinion: 4 out of 10 teachers think their participation in the island's development has been little or none. Nonetheless, the proportion who think that their contribution has been none is only 3%. Thus, it can be concluded that most teachers believe they have been contributors to the development of the island in the last few years.

Teachers who feel they have had more participation in Puerto Rico's development are similar to those who express most satisfaction with that development in the following respect: they are married male teachers 32 or older, specialized in elementary education, with the longest professional experience. Besides this, they are of rural origin, have not completed a bachelor's degree, have tenure and teach at the elementary level. If they teach at the secondary level, it is usually some vocational course.

The public school teachers not only think that development has been favorable and that they have contributed to it, but also think that this progress has affected them favorably. Only 13 teachers answer that development has been unfavorable for them, 6 that it has been rather unfavorable, and only 1 very much unfavorable. This group expressing negative attitude towards development accounts for less that 1% of the total.

Again, we find that the perception of the favorable effects of development in the island has different gradations: 2 out of 10 said it has affected them "very favorably", 3 out of 10 say "rather favorably" while 5 out of 10 chose the category "favorably". Those who indicate a "most favorable" effect are mostly male teachers from small families of manual origins, and if they are married, the spouse has a manual occupation. They have more experience, work in a non-single enrollment school organization and have stopped teaching sometime and taken another kind of job.

If we take as a group teachers who are very much satisfied with development in the island, who believe that they have contributed a large extent to it, and have been affected most favorably by it, we find that they are the most experienced male teachers from manual origins.

The finding that school teachers think positively about development on the island and that they see themselves as active contributors of that process is not a surprising one. Similar data have been obtained by Tumin and Feldman, in pervious research done in an island-wide survey. This may point out a manifest conformity with the social structure and the changes undergone. For this reason, it has been stated several times that this society is unlike to show any great social tensions. People feel affectively identified with progress in terms of their own well-being as well as in their roles in bringing it about.

Although most teachers stress that development in the island has affected them favorably, only 4 out of 10 share the opinion that government has done enough for their professional group. Teachers who hold this opinion usually come from manual origins and are married to spouses doing manual jobs. Professionally they have a specialization in elementary education, their academic index is below the median and they teach and feel happy teaching at the elementary level of the system.

Even though the trends are not as precise as the preceeding ones, it is also turns out that those whose opinion is favorable to the government for what it has done for their group are persons from a rural origin (born and raised), they are older and have more experience, tenure, and work in schools organized under single enrollment.

The reasons given to justify the belief that the government has done a lot for teachers as a group are shown in chart two.

Table 2

Reasons given by public school teachers supporting the opinion that government has done a lot for them as a professional group

Reasons	Frecuency (Total=422)	Percent* (N=220)
Better salary conditions	144	65
More and better professional opportunities	101	45
More and better working conditions	63	29
More and better rights and benefits	37	17
More concern has been shown for teachers	21	10
More and better opportunities for students	7	3
Better supervision	5	2
Teaching improvement	2	1
Has done a lot without specifications	17	8
Other	25	11

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*This column adds up over 100% because each subject gave more than one asnwer.

Now, let's explain the meaning of the classficatory categories presented in the previous table, in terms of the teachers' comments:

1. Better salary conditions: "The government has taken the initiative in helping us to improve our economic status since this is the origin of all other problems we have. It is obvious that the government has done much to improve our economic situation and legislation has been passed improving salaries. On account of this, most professionals have improved in this aspect and are in a better position of solving their problems with present salaries. There is no doubt that salaries have improved. Due to this fact the teacher's position has gone higher in status."

We should make clear that this opinion about government improvement of their professional group has no connection with the opinion of the majority regarding their salary, which is that it is not good enough to live adequately; however, in spite of this, they think that salary is one of those areas where more benefits have been obtained from the government (#109, 165, 187, 189).

The economic increase in salaries is expressed in contrasting terms; they claim that the salary now earned by teachers is three times more than the salary they used to get years before.

Thus, they go on saying that "years ago teachers used to get very poor salaries. Imagine, years ago salaries were from $60 to $70 a month. It is different today. I myself started out with a salary of $120 and today this is never heard of."

They think that "salaries have been growing little by little compared to salaries in the past," and they see salary increases as part of "the general progress in the island". On account of this they conclude that "the teacher's economic situation has been greatly improved". And "we really cannot complain about our government" (#59, 69, 70, 92, 120, 169, 183, 210, 217, 529).

In establishing comparisons, this group feels satisfied and expresses this by insisting that "better salaries give better chances for improving life conditions and the teacher's status" (#106). Still, some of them suggest some sort of dissatisfaction when they say that "salaries have improved but not enough". Or "salaries have had some improvement" (#62, 280). But this dissatisfaction is not directed towards the government; on the contrary, it is justified: "the government has always done the best to improve salaries. The truth is that the government is much concerned about the teachers in the sense that they are included when the appropriations for salaries are made" and "has always tried to help teachers as far as the budget permits. However, it is true that the government has not been able to improve salaries up to the teacher's needs, because we are a great number indeed". Tabus, "in spite of having always tried to improve salaries it has not been possible on account of the large proportion of teachers; they have to consider this fact, we are too many. Really, I don't complain, five years ago salaries were improved, now at present they are trying to raise them again" (#53, 300, 402, 545, 566).

2. More and better professional opportunities: In this case teachers mostly mean scholarships for further studies and programs for improvement in service. They claim that "the government is concerned about improving the quality of its professionals," offering them "more opportunities for studies and intellectual enrichment"(#130, 258). This is accomplished "by providing the teacher with the opportunity to expand his knowledge through scholarships and study leaves, so they can keep on thinking how much they can improve themselves for the country's betterment". These benefits are more accessible "to those teachers who have not finished yet", so they can finish up what has not been finished", thus they "can further their studies and keep on progressing in their academic status". They add that professional betterment is also stimulated "by the establishment of certain programs that allow them to use some working time hours to study, "by offering scholarships, institutes, and lectures", and also by "trips and teachers

exchange. Besides this, on vacation time, the gobernment gives teachers the opportunity to improve their knowledge by studying and getting a salary, so that teachers have no worries about not getting paid. Also orientation is given through T. V. programs; in other words, there are some educational programs on T. V. with symposia and panels to clear doubts that teachers may have." Another thing offered is "training through seminars." They also mention the fact that at present "there are more materials and textbooks and the student is given more chances for scholarships, other aids and more vocational schools" (#38, 118, 175, 363, 365, 442, 477, 496, 583, 588, 594).

As a result of all this, teachers believe that "the opportunities for professional improvement and efforts in trying to promote the teacher's status, even though it has to go much higher in the social scale, have been conducive to good schools, good colleges, good teaching staff, and good courses of study." In other words, "the government is much concerned that teachers progress professionally. This is why teachers are given all chances for scholarships and assistance, the University has been brought down to the interior of the island, and the community colleges have been established to train teachers and have other careers" (#251, 347, 585).

The objective achievement of everything expressed before is manifested in a personal opinion when some of them say: "I myself couldn't have studied if I had not been given student's aid"; "the government made it possible for me to study with the scholarship I got. More opportunities are given to all." And, futhermore, "everybody can go to college now." In fact, "most people have had the opportunity of getting scholarships since these are given to all those who are really interested." In brief, it can be said that the government "has struggled for the teachers' professional wellbeing" and "it gives much more opportunities for improvement," because "at the time legislation is approved they always think of us" (#200, 361, 441, 457, 501, 526).

The previous profile, in terms of typical answers given by teachers in this area —more and better professional opportunities— points out that teachers always show a receptive attitude regarding those opportunities and do not bring forth their own personal capabilities, nor the government responsibility to fulfill those opportunities. Also of interest is the apparent equality of opportunities which teachers tend to ascribe to their society, when objective indeces show that opportunities are more accessible to the most affluent groups of society, and that stratification and social and economic distances have been increasing notably.

3. More and better working conditions: This area is summed up in the statement that "today we have many more positions than before" and "the government has realized the teachers' needs and has increased the rate of improvement in their working conditions," "looking forward so that teachers can work in the best comfortable way (#152, 365, 578). In plain terms they say that "there are more textbooks, better equipment and better schools. Transportation facilities have improved greatly on account of the roads built, so it is much easier for teachers to get to their place of work. Besides this, electricity is a new addition in schools, and so is running water. The teacher is also given the opportunity to work nearer to his home. The working schedule has also been improved and government has increased the money assigned for scholarships, salaries and other things needed in schools. More new schools have been built. More material to work with has been provided for. This material has been enlarged, it is easier to understand and is better presented. Other facilities like television have been introduced into the classrooms. Free books and other materials are provided to students for free. The school cafeteria with better facilities is another contribution, also in many cases students are provided with transportation if it is needed" (#29, 45, 61, 62, 212, 266, 275, 365, 533, 578).

Another thing which has been accomplished is "the improvement of buildings and facilities"; "interlocking has been decreased and many schools are being built to eliminate the double enrollment." Besides, "the government has reduced the working day and the teaching of only one subject is stimulated, so that teachers may work more comfortably." Also "there are recreational opportunities" (#41, 121, 181, 223, 475).

In spite of the positive opinion of this group about the work done by the government, there are some teachers who insist that "although working conditions have improved it has not been to the maximum." As has been previously pointed out, animosity from teachers towards the structure, their criticisms for what has not been done is missing from their opinions; neither do the teachers feel responsible for the things actually accomplished in their profession. One gets the feeling that everything accomplished has been the product of the actions of a paternalistic government. Thus, the limitations of the government structure are constantly justified by indicating that "the government has too many things to take care of. Health, for instance, it has to take care of, besides education. It has done plenty, and also it has to cooperate with the rest. Everything cannot be given to education. What is still missing has not been done because of lack of interest, but because it has many obligations ' (#368, 518).

4. More and better rights and benefits: This category means better working conditions. In this aspect the teachers' opinion today is that "the educational system is much better regarding laws and regulations." This means that "teachers now enjoy some freedoms they did not enjoy in the past as well as many benefits formerly unknown: better salary and working hours, cooperatives, accident compensation, retirement pensions." This goes together with "the annual classification that entitles teachers to know where they stand" and "allows you to feel secure with respect to the job" (#72, 79, 129, 187, 267).

Besides all this, teachers also mention other benefits like: "retirement, hospitalization and a permanent job; facilities for acquiring a home." In regard to this, teachers insist that "now you can buy a home by making a loan" and "even some housing projects have been established so teachers can buy a house for less." They also say that "vacations are also much better. Now, one can enjoy vacations and get paid, and, now the pregnant teacher is allowed to get half the salary one month before and after giving birth; also one can count on sick leave" (#134, 218, 232, 245, 260, 397).

Other accomplishments mentioned are "legal aid to teachers; travels for cultural enrichment, the interest shown by government in recognizing the teachers' position and declaring Teachers' Day a holiday, and the opportunity to work within the district" (#78, 134, 165, 341).

However, some teachers think the government "has not done enough. The collegiate system in the profession is still missing. This group adds that when a professional group complains to the government, they should study it and not postpone it in order to come afterwards with palliatives rather than solutions" (#248).

5. More concern has been shown for teachers' problems

The teachers' consensus is that most government efforts to help them are directed towards problems of professional prestige. For this reason they give credit to the government for the teachers' social improvement. The following expressions are good examples of teachers' opinions in this respect: "the government has given more prestige to the profession"; "the teachers' work has more recognition"; "today, teachers have a much higher position in society"; "government is giving the teachers more recognition than before"; "it has done everything possible to give teachers a higher position"; "teachers have been given the right acknowledgement."

The most favorable comments of satisfaction are as follows: "We should be very happy because we know that everything has been done to give the teacher the right position in society, that teachers are looked upon as important persons." In spite of this, some of them think that "so much has been done to give more importance to teachers as a social group, but much more has to be done yet." (#48, 79, 206, 229, 379, 442, 542).

In regard to the opportunities provided by the government to students they say that "It has given a lot of opportunities to poor youngsters who needed help in order to get a profession." (#106).

Supervision is hardly mentioned by the group as a contribution, to their professional improvement and under the category of "other reasons" they express statements like: "There has been great improvement in all aspects compared to the past years" and "Many shortcomings have been eliminated gradually, step by step." We also find statements from some teachers who stress the idea that "It has granted rights, like participation in politics, which was something forbidden years ago." (#199, 285, 478).

Such aspects as the improvement of education "and other unspecified reasons" are not discussed on account of the small number of cases and general nature of the comments.

Let us examine now the negative reasons presented by teachers to sustain the position that government has not contributed to the improvement of the teaching profession. This adverse opinion is shared by six out of ten teachers. Most of them are young teachers from urban and non-manual origins having four or more years of college, are specialized in secondary education and are teaching at that level. They have no tenure and they are most unsatisfied with the level, the grade and the subject they teach.

The reasons they offer to deny that the government has done enough for the profession are shown in table three.

1. Poor salary: The first indicator teachers consider in judging the government's contribution to their profession is salary. Teachers who have a favorable opinion as well as those that have a negative one, consider salary the most important item in judging government. Those who show a negative position insist that government "has lots more to do about this" due to the "critical condition of the teaching profession," and add that "teachers are getting a very poor salary," thus making "teachers the worst paid professional, because they get the lowest salaries among all professionals." (#128, 179, 468, 470).

Usually they reach these conclusions when they compare teaching with other professions. They insist that teachers "have not been given the opportunity to keep the same

Table 3

Reasons given by public school teachers supporting the opinion that government has not done enough for them as a professional group

Reason	Frequency (Total=609)	Percent (N=372)*
Poor salary	241	65
Poor working conditions	132	35
Lack of recognition and prestige	75	20
Limited professional opportunities	36	10
Lack of authority	31	8
Limited rights and benefits	29	8
Limited teacher participation	9	2
Teaching needs to be improved	5	1
Government has not done enough (unspecified)	20	5
Other	31	8

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*This column adds up to more than 100% because each subject could give more than one answer.

level as other professions and other non-professionals who are much better off economically." They stress that "teachers should be getting higher salaries so as to keep up with other professions which require as much academic training." In their comparisons they do not hesitate to point out that "there are other public employees with less professional status and still they get better salaries plus other privileges." They find great economic inequalities among the professions and they advocate "equal treatment from the budget bureau for all the professions in general, because at present judges earn a great deal of money while teachers get miserable salaries." They also cite "people who only have high school education supplemented by a course in business administration and get salaries as high as $800 a month. Furthermore, "the engineers get higher salaries still, and they have a bachelor's degree just like teachers." This comparison at the local level is extended to the U.S.A. to conclude that teachers' salaries here "are even lower and do not compare with salaries teachers get in the U.S.A." (#163, 167, 344, 401, 491, 503).

They contend that this is a big injustice due to the important social goals entrusted to teachers and the demands and responsibilities required from them. In view of this, they insist that "government has forgotten that progress and the economic development of a country depend mostly on its education." Thus it can be stated that "at the salary level, teachers still are bound to be short of getting a reasonable salary which compensates the work that they do in school, at home, and in the community." In other words, "although we teachers have the future of the island in our hands, the government has not been too much concerned about giving us the compensation we deserve. Salaries are much too low in comparison to the duties that we are supposed to do and the important role we play in the future development of Puerto Rico" (#66, 77, 150, 334). "Besides the social importance of the educational purposes performed by teachers, it is a fact that teachers are required to do more work and have more responsibilities than most other professional groups and it requires a great deal of effort and might." For this reason, "The teaching profession is some sort of underdog, and too much is expected from them. In spite of this they get very little reward. Salary does not compensate for the things required from the teaching profession." They also point out that even though they have a shorter working day, they work twice as much as other professional groups that are supposed to work for eigh hours because they have to work at home correcting papers, making lesson plans, etc. (#36, 66, 75, 317, 534).

Regarding the low salaries, these teacher point out the sad fact that "the money one gets does not cover expenses; with the salary one gets, it is very difficult to live because even though salaries have been improving lately, the cost of living has grown more rapidly." Besides, "the teacher is expected to live up to a certain level which is impossible with the kind of salary one gets. The truth is that so far we haven't got to the right place regarding social status and salary, and for this reason we happen to be the most abused sector of the middle class." (#97, 111, 133, 201, 484, 596).

How do these teachers react to government structure, to government as an organization? Some of them take an attitude of distrust: "The government has made so many promises about improving salaries, but does not fulfill them." "Every time a raise in salary is requested, it never materializes, and if it does, teachers get cheated and the raise usually is very little ;" "There is more interest on the part of the government in helping other professional groups " (#113, 433).

Teachers do not look at this problem from the point of view of their own resources and possibilities as a group; they do not show the strength of collective action for changing the situation. Instead they say that "the question of raising salaries is in the hands of the Legislature;" "Any other group gets a raise, but teachers are overlookedm they always come last " (#301, 394).

Although some of them point out that "Once teachers were forced to demonstrate in front of La Fortaleza to get a raise in their salaries" most merely insist "that the government has to give the teaching profession the right place in society." The general attitude is acceptance of the situation, conformity, and justification of the government for not being able to give teachers the kind of salary they deserve. They believes that government "has been improving to a certain degree the low salaries, and that raises are minimal," but continue to think that "government is trying its best" and "Nothing else can be done because teachers make up a large group and to take care of this demand would be disastrous for the general economy of the island." In this way they feel they have been taken care of with the small raises they get from time to time, and some would be willing to take less then that share (#49, 190, 195, 221, 259, 467).

2. Poor working conditions: Working conditions constitute an area of dissatisfaction for teachers. They complain that "The class schedule is too loaded" and "A great amount of work has to be done after school hours". They plead for "less work instead of a 24-hour-a-day shift" (#155, 521, 534).

The following statements illustrate the way teachers think about this matter: "We have many teachers who have to teach two grades at a time because there are not enough resources to have one teacher for each group. Not until each teacher has the minimal facilities could it be said that enough has been done. There is an overload --groups should be smaller to allow individual attention. Besides, there is too much paper work and papers to be corrected. An hour should be set aside within the daily schedule for this purpose." (#65, 535).

Other teachers put it this way: "The academic load is too heavy, too much planning, too much responsibility for the students; visual tests in the classroom; sending sick children to the health unit; looking for medical care, in some rural cases the teacher must give first aid." All these duties make some of them realize that "There is more work for us than for any other government employee, and this is further increased by work on civic campaigns, for which we are responsible. The government should curb this and rely on certain civic entities or prominent people in the community for this purpose" (#237, 503).

Besides the heavy duties, teachers complain about the poor working conditions. They claim that these are not proper enough to work adequately. They say that "We don't have enough material and equipment for all the students and we don't have any mimeographed material, nor mimeographs for duplicating exams. We don't have enough textbooks to work with; many of the availables ones should be thrown away because they are old editions already obsolete." They add that "Some schools are lagging in material and equipment. For instance, in this school, in order to get anything it must be requested years ahead." (#140, 193, 357, 513).

They also claim that "The government has had the opportunity to do something about improving the working facilities for the teaching profession but hasn't". They complain that "Many schools are in very poor condition and need to be improved." And they add that "One notifies the proper authorities, but when the whole thing is taken care of the premises have practically fallen down on the teacher. For instance, if there is no blackboard in the classroom, one has to get it; if the classroom has to be fixed, the teacher has to do it himself. To make things worse schools do not have good libraries to improve the quality of teaching and teachers do not even have a place where they can get together. The truth is that when schools are designed they do not take teachers into consideration". (#135, 308, 523, 560).

Teachers think that the government's attitude towards this lack of facilities is one of total neglect and very unfair since "A great deal of money goes for preparations for the Olympic games and there are many groups being sent to do research on Latin America or other countries instead of using that money to take care of the local problems first" (#106, 490).

The opinion expressed by one of these teachers is a very good example of the situation being discussed: "Many classroom problems are forgotten. Nothing is done. Registration is growing more and more each day; textbooks are very scarce, and those we have are not renewed or revised. Sanitary conditions are very bad, no water fountains, the school cafeterias are limited, classrooms are inadequate, poor ventilation, etc. Another important fact is the lack of protection. You buy your own things and then somebody breaks into the school and everything is stolen or destroyed and nothing is done about it."

The teachers' opinion is that the bad working conditions and the low salaries are the most important factors which account for teachers leaving the profession. Regarding the first, one teacher says:

> "The government is very demanding and we get very little compensation. Starting with salary and working conditions, we work over 12 hours daily and we get less than some people who only work 8 hours. Teachers must pay income tax every year. If we think of some other workers, teachers must pay for their earnings while other kinds of workers do not. Besides this, teachers are expected to be a good example of moral traits, socially and culturally, however, they are not provided with the right kind of assistance, so they have to indebt themselves with loans in order to keep up with government demands."

The reasons teachers give for quitting the profession are clearly expressed in the following quotations:

> "Working conditions are not the best. Salaries have been increased lately, but everybody knows how bad they were before. But that is not all. Here you can see a teacher who has 80 children in the first grade. On top of this she has to train four new teachers. She tells me that those coming from kindergarten give her more trouble, twenty of them, because they are used to walking around the classroom and they do as they please. I am not working this year because last year they sent me to a rural school and I had to walk a long way to get to it, and the school was located in the middle of a swamp. Now, children wear shoes made in Puerto Rico. How they call them? Utrilon. That's right. That kind of shoes gather up the mud inside those spaces in the sole. The children scrape them and scrape. Then the stuff stays over the floor and becomes dust when it dries up. All dust, and the doctor told me that I had to quit because I developed sinus trouble and it would get worse and become chronic. So, they sent me there again this year and I had to say no. That's what I mean when I say that the working conditions for teachers cannot be remedied. I have two sons going to the University, but I told them not to study to be teachers. Anything but that." (#261).

> "Teachers have not been rated in the same level as other professions. The working conditions do not permit teachers to be in the same socio-economic level

> as other professions, this is why so many good trained teachers have decided to quit and take up some other kind of work; this way the educational system suffers. If they would only try to improve this, to place the teaching profession in the same category as other professions, education would be much better --of better quality". (#500).

3. Lack of recognition and prestige: Teachers insist they should be given more prestige because "Our group as a profession does not occupy the place it should in society, nor has it accomplished its status aspirations in the community, neither for parents or the rest of teachers". The interviewed teachers insist in "The low prestige which the Puerto Rican teacher has always had throughout the history of public education in the island and the lack of prestige observed when compared to the other professions" just because "Now, anybody can be a teacher" (#105, 149, 176, 179, 564).

This lack of prestige is for some teachers a lack of respect which impairs the teachers' professional dignity. Some say that "if they would only acknowledge the teaching profession, the profession would be held in higher esteem and teachers would feel better about it. If somebody asks you. "Are you a teacher?" And you say yes, it seems that you go down in estimation. It sure isn't a nice profession like many others. There is an old saying: 'starved like a school teacher.' This is an old idea people have of the teaching profession, but still it's going around.

More prestige would certainly change such terms like 'poor teacher' and improve recruitment. Another commonly heard expression is 'maestro de palito'. Special legislation should strive to give more prestige to teachers --so as to be considered not a starving human being but an educator" (#93, 147).

This lack of professional prestige attributed to teachers is due to the fact that "We are not given professional recognition and teachers do not feel they are acknowledged as individuals. It is known that status attached to any profession is supposed to come from the government but the teaching profession just happens to be one having the lowest status. The teaching profession has not been dignified; there is little public regard for teachers and in fact they meet with less respect; they are not granted the same rights given to other groups." Regarding this they claim that "The government could have provided more opportunities for professional esteem; it should have given us the same status given to lawyers or doctors, but nothing has been done about it." (#40, 87, 244, 271, 276, 343).

Others insist that "Not enough social backing has been granted; teachers are kept in the same cultural level and are not given direct participation, neither are they taken into consideration when laws are enacted." (#284,.314, 579).

This group of teachers proposes various suggestions to cope with this situation: "The government could do something about educating the community so it would look at the teaching profession the way it should be looked at according to its importance. The government should ask for our opinions more frequently; it should be more favorable to teachers." Also, "The government could give more authority to teachers in the classroom and more security inside and outside the classroom. For instance, in legal cases. If one is forced to hit a student, it should not be taken to court, since this is done for the student's benefit." They conclude by remarking that "The government should give more recognition to the teachers' work, the public recognition that teachers deserve. This could be accomplished through an intensive campaign to publicize the benefits of being a teacher. But for this purpose the government should ask first if it is true that teaching is a great profession and whether they have really done something to bring the profession to that category" (#298, 339, 342, 346, 380).

4. Limited professional opportunities: The comments given on this subject are limited to suggestions of "Better opportunities for study." They claim that "Not enough scholarships are provided for improvement" and that "Many teachers have not been able to finish because they could

not get a study leave." Besides, "The opportunities for furthering studies are not enough. For instance, it is impossible for teachers who have children to cover expenses with the small amount of the scholarships" (#153, 253, 386, 440, 559).

They also ask the government to provide "an opportunity to further studies by correspondence or through television", and "more workshops and seminars so that teachers can keep up with the latest ideas concerning their job" (#356, 372).

5. Lack of authority: Another reason for dissatisfaction of teachers is their lack of authority in the classrooms. They claim that the government has "taken away all possible ways of getting the students' respect on account of the laws that protect students and which scarcely allow the teacher to scold them." This, they emphasized, is due to the fact that "the laws protecting minors have taken away a lot of the teacher's authority and given it to students" (#166, 170, 430).

As so much authority has been withdrawn from teachers "Their hands are tied and now it is the child who has the last word in the classroom. Now the student knows the law beforehand; those are laws that only the teacher should know about, not the student. I have seen cases where the student has called the police to arrest the teacher. Or else, the teacher is taken to court" (#93, 106, 223).

The result of all this is that "If one student makes trouble for the teacher, the law is always on his side and even the headlines on the press tend to distort the whole situation." On account of this, "These days the teachers are having quite a difficult time, the student is the one who has all the rights. In other words, teachers are not allowed to tell students this or that without getting into trouble with the parents. This gives students the feeling that teachers are nothing. Teachers sure must have much more respect from students and they should look upon him as an authority. It is necessary for teachers to regain the respect they used to have in the past, when teachers ordered students to do something and it had to be done the teachers' way" (#295, 395, 546, 563).

6. Limited rights and benefits: This aspect considers appointments, civil rights, and the economic aspects of the profession. Regarding appointments it is pointed out that "Our positions sometimes become political positions," or else "They become mass appointments that do not consider

the special abilities of the teachers involved". (#222, 259).

Some teachers criticize "some laws forbidding teachers to go on strike" and the fact that "When problems arise in schools, the government is supposed to help teachers, but instead they turn the back on him and teachers have to rely on themselves". Also teachers complain about the retirement regulations. "First because it is rather rough to keep on working until you are 65. It is tough to deal with so many youngsters for so many years." Regarding this, many teachers have suggested that "retirement should be granted not on the basis of age but of years of service rendered. Second, they claim that the retirement system provides for very little benefits. The pensions provided are small." (#114, 117, 194, 237, 326).

7. Limited teacher participation: The quotation that follows summarizes the general opinion regarding the lack of teacher participation:

> "We are not given the opportunity to express our own ideas and to participate, for example in the school curriculum and the textbooks to be used. They never listen to what the teachers have to say."

Teachers who think education must be improved insist that "The education offered now is not enough to face life with optimism". Some opinions classified as negative are too general and cannot be classified within the former categories. Some examples of this type of comment are the following: "Still too much to be done regarding improvement"; "Most educational improvements remain in the planning stage"; "Not enough has been done regarding the teaching profession; there are so many things to be improved in the teaching profession; still a lot to be done".

The following statements have been categorized as other: "Little attention is given to teachers' complaints; to establish the aims of education in a specific way so as to make them clear and improve the quality of education"; "To give more importance to the teachers' field of specialization"; "To give more importance to the quality of education rather than the quantity"; "Establish more vocational schools in order to train students who cannot go to college; also, something must be done about solving basic problems like social problems and the problems in the family which are related to education".

The analysis of the above opinions allow one to distinguish some ideological characteristics of public school teachers in Puerto Rico. First of all, it is seen that teachers perceive education as having a civic and technico-professional character. They seem to be satisfied with the changes that have taken place in Puerto Rico, their participation in promoting that change and its effect on them as individuals. This positive perception of change is mostly found among male teachers from the lowest socio-economic levels. However, we must point out that in spite of the preceding opinions regarding change, teachers believe that government has not done enough about their own problems. The most fundamental criticism is directed to the poor salaries and the bad working conditions.

Finally, let us examine the teachers' opinion about the impact of socio-economic change on interpersonal relations. This aspect was measured by taking into consideration their opinions regarding changes in relations between parents and children, married couples and in-laws, and the nature of these changes.

It was already mentioned that the subjects studied have a high esteem for traditional elements of Puerto Rican society. But this conclusion cannot be interpreted to mean that teachers are not conscious of the impact of urban and economic development on the island. When comparing personal relations in the present and in the past, teachers do admit that such relations have certainly changed. They point out that the degree of intimacy in these relations has diminished, an obvious departure from the traditional concept. They base this claim on a weakening of the following: family ties, respect between parents and children, relations between god-children and god-parents, and relations among the in-laws. The change that has taken place in these personal relations is not uniform. The greatest impact is noticed in the relations between parents and children as well as between god-parents and god-children. The less obvious is the change between in-laws. They insist that a fundamental result of this process of change is a greater sense of confidence and equality between married couples.

Eight out of 10 teachers think that at present there is less respect in the relations between parents and children; that the relations between god-parents and god-children are less intimate and that there is less unity regarding family ties. Six out of 10 teachers think that today the relations among in-laws are less close.

In trying to characterize teachers who differ from the majority --those who consider that family relations are the same or more intimate-- it is found that very few significant variables differentiate them from the rest. Besides, no common variables are found between those who think that today there is more or the same amount of respect in the relations between parents and children; that relations between god-parents and god-children are tighter; that there are closer family ties or that relations between in-laws are also closer.

The situation varies with regard to their opinion about the degree of intimacy and confidence that exists today between married couples. In this regard, the group divides itself into two almost equal halves: 5 out of 10 teachers think that there is more confidence and intimacy between married couples today and the other half thinks the opposite. Those affirming that there is more confidence and intimacy are mostly young females,born and raised in the urban zone. Married teachers sharing this point of view have a spouse in a non-manual occupation. Regarding their training, they have four or more years of college, their academic index is above the median and they work in secondary schools. The professional life has been short, thus they have no tenure.

In general, the public school teachers in Puerto Rico have "traditional" orientations. This does not make them insensitive observers who are not conscious of changes taking place in Puerto Rico. They realize that in spite of the changes in family relations the traditional valuations of people --to be honest, to have a close family and to be religious-- are primary aspirations in life. The public school teachers in Puerto Rico do maintain those ideals of a traditional nature in a society that with the passing of each day orients itself more towards values of a materialistic and utilitarian nature.

CHAPTER IV

Attitudes of public school teachers towards the United States and Northamericans

The criteria used to ascertain the attitudes of public school teachers in Puerto Rico towards the United States and Northamericans are the respondents' answers to a set of questions which inquired about the following: whether the interviewees liked or not to live in the United States and their reasons for stating a particular opinion; whether they perceived any differences between Northamericans and Puerto Ricans and the nature of such differences; and their opinion about the way Puerto Ricans feel towards Northamericans and vice-versa. These questions were open-ended ones which allowed the informants to express themselves freely. The answers were codified according to meaningful categories established after an analysis of all the answers. This procedure permitted quantitative analysis of data thus classified. The former approach was supplemented by content analysis of responses in order to make further use of the rich and varied information provided by the available data.

The answers to the question of whether they would like to live in the United States showed that 7 out of 10 respondents answered negatively. Those who were most emphatic in voicing this opinion were female teachers, married to a spouse in a non-manual occupation, with relatives in the teaching profession and graduates of the University of Puerto Rico. In terms of professional variables they were teachers who generally taught vocational subjects at the secondary level; they had not had any other occupation besides teaching; and they had tenure and more years of teaching experience than the average teacher; they also felt highly satisfied with the grade and subject taught.

Teachers who expressed more satisfaction with the school level showed less preference for living in the United States, but the relationship was not statistically significant. The trend nevertheless is for the most satisfied teachers to like less the idea of living in the United States. The same trend is shown by teachers in the first three grades of the elementary level and those who work in the urban zone.

The following variables did not show any relationship with preference for living in the United States: parents' occupation, university major, place of birth, residence, size of family, age, religion, academic preparation nor graduation index.

The reasons given for not liking to live in the United States were principally of a cultural or social nature. A summary of responses is presented on Table 1.

It can be seen from this table that cultural reasons outnumbered social ones in a proportion of 3 to 1. Among the cultural reasons the most important ones were those associated with the "way of life" of Northamerican culture and the attachment expressed towards Puerto Rico as the land where "one has been born and raised". The social reasons were principally related to social problems of the Northamerican society.

Table Number 1

Reasons given by Public School Teachers for not Liking to live in the United States

Reasons		Frequency	Percent (N-426)*
A. Cultural		536	126
Different rhythm of life	211		
Likes Puerto Rico	116		
Impersonality of American culture	57		
Family lives and works in P. R.	56		
U.S. culture is different	28		
Limited family life	4		
Lack of moral values	2		
B. Social		209	49
High delinquency rate	54		
Employment conditions	47		
Racial and religious prejudice	29		
Negative child rearing	26		
Bad environment	22		
Inadequate housing	11		
High cost of living	10		
Lack of opportunities	5		
Inadequate recreation	2		
Political reasons	2		
Female behavior patterns	1		
C. Climate (does not like it)		155	36
D. Health motives		5	1
E. Other		58	14

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* This column adds up to more than 100% because each subject gave more than one answer.

The meaning of each category presented on this table acquires new dimensions when refined by adding available information. Thus, "different pace of life" refers to the "different rhythm of life" attributed to the foreign society. This is seen as one whose tempo is "fast, agitated, restless and with no calm at all". One which offers the individual "very little freedom for action" since people are always "shut behind doors" without opportunities for "recreation".

To the above image of Northamerican society they added its impersonality. In referring to this trait they mentioned its rugged individualism, the lack of hospitality and their belief that people in the United States seldom know each other and have very little primary interaction among themselves. They affirmed that in a society such as the one described, man is merely a kind of automaton with very limited or practically no family life. This perception of the "other" society was explained in terms of differences in cultural heritage which in turn accounts for different ways of thinking and behaving. These are used to explain their dislike for living in the United States.

As was mentioned previously, the cultural reasons are supplemented by social ones. These refer principally to the social pathology of Northamerican society. For them, this is a society characterized by a high rate of crime and juvenile delinquency; full of racial and religious prejudices; of dilapidated and congested buildings and apartments detrimental to proper upbringing of children, and abundant in means of recreation and entertainment that are harmful to youth.

The summary of these impressions was contained in their assertion that it is a society with "an unwholesome environment" and one in which child rearing "leaves a lot to be desired".

To the above explanations they added that working conditions were worse in the United States than in Puerto Rico because of the inadequacies of the working schedules. These not only require one to get up very early, but limit the person's opportunities to see the family and to enjoy himself. They added, furthermore, that working there meant to be always in haste, in competition with co-workers, and spending more money due to the higher cost of living.

The valuations which public school teachers made of Northamerican society were almost invariably followed by others related to Puerto Rico. Among these were ones pertaining to climate and others to the plain satisfaction of living in the country where one has been born. These two factors, added to the fact that their primary groups lived here and to their stated preference for Puerto Rican customs and traditions - language, food, and dressing habits, etc. - carried them not only to reject living in the United States but to consider Puerto Rico as "the best place to live".

Although the majority of public school teachers reject the idea of living in the United States, there were 3 out of 10 teachers who agreed with the idea of living in that country. These were generally male teachers; married to a spouse in a manual occupation and with no relatives in the teaching profession. They were also persons who had had another occupation before being recruited into the teaching profession. This preference for the United States prevailed largely among teachers who graduated from private universities and those with less professional experience and without tenure. They were more common among the secondary level group, particularly among those who taught subjects in the humanities and the natural sciences and who preferred to teach a different grade and subject. The reasons given by this group for their residential preference of the United States are given on the next table.

The principal reason teachers gave for liking to live in the United States was the availability of more opportunities. This is understood to mean "more opportunity to get ahead". They justified this way of reasoning by affirming that in the United States there are more job openings and better working conditions; better salaries; and more and better chances for further studies. They also mentioned "more places to go out" and "many places to look at".

The reasons mentioned by public school teachers who would like to live in the United States seem interesting at least from one point of view: the actual situation of Puerto Ricans in the Mainland. In terms of "real" opportunities there seems to be a lag between teachers' perceptions and actual conditions, if the Puerto Rican migrants are taken as a frame of reference. The latter group, in its efforts for self-improvement through community action, has discovered and denounced the social and economic subordination of their group in the United States, not only with regard to Northamerican whites, but also with respect to black Americans. The Puerto Rican teachers do not seem

Table 2

Reasons given by Public School Teachers for liking to live in the United States

Reason	Frequency	Percent (N=166)*
More opportunities	140	84
To acquire knowledge	63	38
Satisfied with way of life of U.S.	48	29
Desire for new experiences	43	26
Other	46	28

to bear in mind the particular idiosyncracies of non-equalitarianism in Northamerican society and seem to remove their idealistic societal conceptualization from the rampant poverty and limitations which have to be faces by the Puerto Rican migrant.

The second most important reason which is presented on the table relates to getting more knowledge. This refers to the possibility of knowing things which were not specified, as well as learning more English, and about the people and the social environment of the United States.

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*This column adds up to more than 100% because each subject gave more than one answer.

Another group of teachers gave as their explanation their own satisfaction with the Northamerican way of life and stated their desire to get acquainted with a way of life different from the one in Puerto Rico. They hoped to lead a less monotonous and sedentary life and to be freed from social pressures characteristics of a local society which for them was still rural and primary in its interpersonal relationships and sanctioning of behavior. Also, the wish for new experiences, particularly the opportunity to see the world and meet new people, are among other important reasons mentioned.

In addition to the three principal categories mentioned above there were a group of miscellaneous responses which were too small to constitute a category by themselves. Among those, the following were mentioned: interviewee had relatives in the United States; liked to work with Northamerican children; liked the climate of the democratic way of living of the United States.

The relationship of social and professional variables to the explicit reasons given for liking to live in the United States showed that those who mentioned "availability of opportunities" tended to be male teachers, married to a spouse in a non-manual occupation and alumni of the University of Puerto Rico. They were persons teaching elementary grades but not satisfied with their school level, and they were older despite the fact that they had fewer years of professional experience than the average teacher. They were also of urban origins with less than four years of college, and their academic index was below the median.

The reason of "getting more knowledge" was generally offered by teachers of non-manual origins and married to spouses in non-manual occupations. They were elementary school teachers with more than 10 years of professional experience and with academic indices above the median.

Teachers who mentioned their satisfaction with the Northamerican way of life were mainly persons 31 or younger, of urban and manual origins and married to a spouse in a manual occupation. They were alumni of the University of Puerto Rico with a major in secondary education; they taught at the secondary level and their academic indices were above the median.

The desire for new experiences was mentioned by single, female teachers who were born and raised in rural areas. They graduated from the University of Puerto Rico, they had 4 years or more of college education and taught in urban secondary schools. Nevertheless, they verbalized dissatisfaction with their school level.

This part may be summarized by concluding that the majority of public school teachers in Puerto Rico did not like to live in the United States. Their reasons were mainly cultural or social. Those who would welcome a change tended to be teachers most dissatisfied with their work and who believed that the Northamerican society is characterized by equality of opportunities. There were significant differences among teachers who gave one reason or other to explain their preference for liking to live in the United States.

From the question related to preference for living in the United States the respondents were queried on whether they thought there were any differences between Puerto Ricans and Northamericans. The findings showed that 8 out of 10 teachers answered in the affirmative.

The minority who thought there were no differences between both "national" groups (2 out of 10 teachers) were persons of non-manual origins; they were married to a spouse in a non-manual occupation and they were 32 or older, Catholics and with a family of 4 or more. They were teachers who evaluated their college education as excellent but their academic indices were below the median. In terms of proffesional variables they tended to be clustered among those with 10 years or more of teaching experience. Thus, they were tenured teachers and taught either from the fourth to the sixth grade at the elementary level or natural science subjects in the secondary one.

Among the group of teachers who do not perceive differences between Northamericans and Puerto Ricans, the dissatisfaction with the public school system is greater - most of them prefer to teach another grade, another subject or at another level. Teachers who say there are important differences between both national groups do tend to exhibit opposite traits.

The opinions verbalized by public school teachers concerning these differences were grouped into three categories: statements of a neutral, positive or negative nature with regard to each vocational group. Statements of a neutral nature do not have an implicit value judgment (they prefer practical things; they have a different language) while those classified as positive or negative do have a value judgment. Statements of the positive nature are: "they have more and better employment opportunities; they have better opportunities for further study". Statements of the negative sort are: "they think they are superior; their cleanliness habits are inadequate; they do not have initiative; they do not know how to bring up children".

The classification of their statements is shown in table number 3.

Table 3

Statement of Public School Teachers concerning the differences Between Puerto Ricans and Northamericans

Type of Statement	Number of Teachers	Percentage* (N=490)	Number of Comments	Percentage (N=1373)
Neutral	421	86	813	59
Positive with regard to Northamericans	87	18	125	9
Positive with regard to Puerto Ricans	77	16	97	7
Negative with regard to Northamericans	175	36	249	18
Negative with regard to	67	14	89	7

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*This column adds up more than 100 percent because each informant could give more than one answer.

The previous table shows that 490 teachers said there were differences between Puerto Ricans and Northamericans. Of these, 9 out of 10 mentioned a difference which did not carry an implicit value judgment of a favorable or unfavorable nature towards any one of the national groups under discussion. It is interesting to point out that only 4 in 10 teachers issued negative statements with regard to Northamericans and only 2 in 10 manifested positive opinions. This low expression of negative opinion was to be expected if it is borne in mind that Puerto Ricans grow and develop in an ideological milieu where Northamericans are seldom adversely criticized. On the other hand, it is not as easy to find an explanation for the small number of statements favorable to the Northamericans. This seems to indicate that the economic and political control which the United States exerts over the Puerto Rican population has not been able to develop, - at least, among this sector of the middle class, - a laudatory image of Northamericans, or that a total and absolute ideological change with regard to the perception of Northamericans has not occured among public school teachers. Despite this observable trend there is a visible sympton which points in the opposite direction: Puerto Rican teachers gave more positive statements about Northamericans than they did about themselves. Although the trend was not statistically significant, it might be considered by some as the emergence of a feeling of self-underestimation. But this conclusion would have required a consistency of opinion with regard to negative comments: more about Puerto Ricans themselves and less about Northamericans. The data in regard to this aspect showed just the opposite: public school teachers gave almost three times more negative comments about Northamericans than they did about Puerto Ricans.

On the basis of the previous data it may be concluded that differences perceived by public school teachers tend to be neutral in nature, although more negative towards Northamericans. Positive comments are scarce for both national groups. Thus, it can be stated that Puerto Rican teachers do not seem to have internalized an ideological pattern about Northamericans which is favorable to them nor that such a pattern may constitute an emotional support to serve as the basis to foster drastic attitudinal changes favorable to Northamericans. The data collected here merely shows that public school teachers see differences between both groups and such differences do not tend to be judged either in positive or negative terms. In spite of this, the image which emerges of the Northamerican is one which has more negative than positive ingredients for this particular group of teachers.

The previous table shows that statements offered by public school teachers to explain the differences between Puerto Ricans and Northamericans included 813 neutral comments, 338 of a negative nature and 222 positive ones. If these general categories are further subdivided the data becomes amenable to a different kind of analysis. The new classification is presented on table 4. It stands out that most of the neutral statements had to do with cultural factors, the negative with social and the positive with personal ones. Now, we will proceed to discuss the characteristics of teachers who choose one explanation or other (neutral, positive, negative) and the meanings attached to each category.

The neutral statements were made by more than half of the group of teachers under study but they were most frequently mentioned by married female teachers whose spouses had a manual occupation. They tended to be more common among persons 31 or younger non-Catholics and from families small in size (3 members or less). They had 4 years or more of college education, a major in secondary education and their academic indices were above the median. In professional terms they were teachers with 9 years or less of experience and did not have tenure. They are found most often at the secondary level, where they tend to teach subjects related to the Humanities. If they teach at the elementary level they prevail among the teachers of the first three grades.

The neutral statements started by establishing some basic differences between Northamericans and Puerto Ricans. In the first place, these referred to cultural differences, in the structural sense, their language, their customs, and their ways of living. In second place, they referred to certain kinds of social reasons and to a number of personal traits of each National group. Finally, some economic and climate differences were mentioned. There was another group of teachers who supported the existence of differences but were unable to specify them.

Table No. 4

Detailed Classification of Statement of Public School Teachers Concerning the Differences Between Puerto Ricans and Northamericans

Type of Statement classification		Number of Coments	Percentage (N-1373)
Neutral		813	59
Cultural	477		
Social	143		
Personal traits	118		
Economic	27		
Climatological	14		
General, unspecified	34		
Positive		222	16
Cultural	43		
Social	67		
Personal traits	99		
Economic	13		
Negative		338	25
Cultural	31		
Social	213		
Personal traits	94		

The most outstanding difference between Puerto Ricans and Northamericans mentioned by school teachers is culture. This difference is set down when they state that "their culture is different" and that Puerto Rican culture "has many things which are different from theirs"; that it is due to 'the people's idiosyncracy" and to "racial differences". They explained this last concept in cultural rather than physiological terms by saying that "in regard to race, we are Latins"; "they are Anglosaxons of English extraction while we are Latins of Hispanic origin". Thus, the result is seen as "differences in being, of culture. All in all, we just happen to be a different kind of people, with an origin of a much greater and deeper cultural background than the Northamericans"(#30,58,101,129,176,251,329).

This difference is due to the fact that the "cultural origins are not the same" since "we come from different cultural stocks"; "they come from the Anglosaxon civilization; we come from the Latin branch enriched with elements like the Indian, African and Spaniard". In consequence, "our ways of living are not parallel and they don't think as we do". They are "pragmatic, practical, coldblooded, insensible and manipulative. The latin culture is passionate, emmtive. We act according to our feelings, and we happen to be more attached to the family". In other words, "Puerto Ricans are more attached to family ties and are more inclined to the spiritual than to the material values. They also show less dynamism in facing problems than most Americans. In addition, Puerto Ricans show less aggressiveness when facing difficult situations, are less militant, show less interest." Besides, having been brought up "abiding by the ways of the Spanish colonial tradition which adhered strictly to the Christian principles, they have come to give more importance to family ties, and the simple and quite life. Thus, the Puerto Rican has not become involved in a competition with the world of machinery as stressed so much by Americans. On the contrary, Puerto Ricans give more attention to the problems of human nature. Americans, unlike us, stick to the slogan, to money and to the mechanistic world". This is the reason why "we get involved in our own emotions and therefore we are not pragmatic"; "why we happen to be more on the traditional side"; "why we think twice before we do anything", and "why there are some behavior patterns which we do have and they do not know of". Public school teachers conclude by insisting that in general, Puerto Rican culture is "completely different from their ways of thinking, acting and feeling". However, they do not deny that "we borrow some things from them", nor that "we have certainly changed in the last years". They stress the fact that" culturally we are not a carbon copy of their culture" and for that reason "what we inherited from our ancestors is still here". However, the final result of the fact that Americans have a different way of thinking is their inability to understand that "the union that we have with the United States of America is of a political nature, commercial and social; the one we had with Spain was one which bequeathed on us her customs, her religion, and her language and all this sets up a way to follow. Thus, even though we are forced into the American ways, our Spanish culture will persist while all the time the Americans think we are one thing when we are somewhat different, because they don't really know us" (#12,50,80,85,94,97,119,179,194,227, 325,353,354,396,399,463,492,519).

The language differential is expressed in a statement which affirms that "language is really the greatest difference between the Americans and the Puerto Ricans" because "language is something fundamental to us, something undeniable and always the native tongue". The linguistic aspect is expressed as part of the trilogy of "language, customs and culture" stressing this way an intimate and inseparable relationship among the three elements. Although their statements were classified as neutral, some of the teachers gave way to comments which were not free from value judgements. Some of them tried to establish differences in such areas as "the misunderstanding of the Spanish language by the Americans", or "the intolerant attitude of the Americans towards learning another language". Others, in regard to this difference, point out that "Any time we do hear somebody speaking a different language we feel awkward; this means they must feel the same way. For this reason many Puerto Ricans cannot learn English and they have trouble when they go to the States.

This is the same situation with Americans when they come to live here". Some teachers try to explain the latter adding that "Even when we do learn their language we still feel bad about speaking it". Any way, language emerges as the fundamental difference. For some teachers "language is the only difference" and "Although some people think that Puerto Ricans are almost bilingual, and some Americans even try to make themselves understood, differences do remain due to the fact that English is their mother tongue and Spanish is ours" and "Our language is a second nature to us and it identifies us as a people of hispanic origin and our ways of thinking and of being as Puerto Rican; our traditions and customs make up part of our personality; something that you can not avoid" (#11,36,60,130,138,146,189,213,274, 333,417,434,456,535).

The matter of customs emerged as another area which teachers think important in determining differences between Americans and Puerto Ricans. However, their answers tended to be short, ambiguous and not very precise. They realized that "Americans have their own customs and we have our own and that "ours are different", but they do not seem to be able to point out the differences. They admitted that "Customs vary according to origin and cultural background to explain why American customs are radically different from ours." Some of the teachers tried to avoid further answers by saying that "in regard to the American customs, don't ask me because I couldn't answer you specifically."

In spite of it all, they insist that "Our customs have a certain value for us which they can not grasp and for that reason they become critical of us" (#140,154,223,278,415,464,473).

The ambiguity observed regarding the specification of differences between Puerto Rican and Northamerican customs is more acute when dealing with religion, traditions, eating and dressing habits.

Regarding religion, they accept that "There are differences in the religious factor between the two" and that such difference is a remarkable one. They add that this is due to the fact that "Although we both are Christians, they are mostly Protestant and we are Catholic." This latter remark in regard to Catholicism is stressed in statements like the following: "In Puerto Rico most of us are Catholics, even if nominal ones; among Americans the predominant religion is Protestant, whereas in Puerto Rico Catholicism predominates; over there 75% are Protestants, here 90% are Catholics. Historically the United States of America is mostly Protestant, Catholicism predominates here." Religious difference is not, however, perceived in merely denominational terms, since some of the answers add that "Among Puerto Ricans there is more religious activity in the family;" "Puerto Ricans are mostly a very religious people while Americans are rather inclined to be more materialistic." To the perception of a greater prevalance of religious values among Puerto Ricans, suggested by the previous answers, other informants add some differences in the practice of religion which they sum up in" the way of practicing religion." They add that "the way they carry on with religious services is like a show, and they advertise it as a commercial product" (#58,83,100,293,299,322,333,358,451,463,527).

Another aspect of customs which they emphasize is its traditional factor. They indicate that "Americans have other kinds of traditions", in other words, "they have their traditions, but these differ from the Puerto Rican ones." For that reason "They don't celebrate the same holidays we celebrate in Puerto Rico. For instance the other day we celebrated De Hostos and they don't have that in the United States of America; Thanksgiving Day is not celebrated here in the same way it is done there; it's different." They also explain that besides celebrating different holidays, "it is not so customary to celebrate holidays in the U.S.A. You don't have the patron saint festivities or the feasts of the Holy Cross, and even Christmas is quite different because their way of celebrating Christmas is altogether different. Christmas in Puerto Rico is a religious event full of happiness. But, from what I gathered while I lived among Americans, their important event is Santa Claus. However, for us the season is longer and it has more religious fervor. Also, they do not have the Three Kings Day, while here we go around singing aguinaldos (Christmas carols). In the States, they have different ways of celebrating their Christmas holidays." In connection with the traditional events, we also have the aspects of music and dancing. This is brought to the surface in an expression of one of the informants who asserted that "Their music is also different and so are their dances. We have very soft music, the danza, or bolero, but their music and their movements while they dance are different" (#11,42,90,146,172,187,245,270,352,402).

The cultural traits and social behavior related to eating are also given importance in stressing the differences between Puerto Ricans and Americans. Public school teachers claim that "Americans have a different way of feeding themselves and their ways are different with regard to eating. This is due to the fact that "we like to have dinner together" as much as to" the way we go about it: the eating hours and the kind of dishes we like. Americans usually take a light lunch and a heavy supper. They are satisfied with anything; a sandwich and a soft drink is enough. Not for us. Also the way they flavor food, it is different. The diet is also different. They do not have the traditional rice and beans as a main dish, neither the soup as part of their dinner." They prefer salads, here people ignore the salad and eat the rest" (#144,293,338,368,531,533,572).

Dressing habits is another item that is mentioned as a main difference between Puerto Ricans and North Americans. It is stressed that "food, dressing habits and amusements, make up what we consider to be Puerto Rican." It is emphasized that "our dressing habits and clothing are quite different. This is due perhaps to the fact that they are less inhibited about the way they dress. For instance, wearing shorts to go shopping in the afternoon is not our own. Sometimes they do not wear any underwear, and the way they dress around the beach! Maybe it is because they are more practical but I would say that they are not so much concerned about the way they dress. Puerto Ricans are much more concerned about the way you should dress according to the ocassion; we worry about wearing a certain dress for the right occasion; not them. In addition we feel much concerned about what people say about the way we dress, so we are inclined to dress well. Not the Americans." In conclusion, it can be said that "Puerto Ricans differ from Americans in this aspect of dressing. As far as the Puerto Rican is concerned he always tries to look his best because we give more importance to the social aspect involved, whereas we are shocked at the way Americans dress. They do not worry as much as we do, in this aspect" (#05,25,29,96,188,233,301,340,372,425, 427,430,485,600).

The difference with regard to ways of living is expressed in terms of "the way they live", or "their system of life" and they finish up by saying that "Their ways of living are quite different from ours and we act differently." In other words we have "a different outlook on life and, of course, a different way of looking at life." This difference is expressed in terms as: "The way I am told, life is much faster there. Americans live in a great haste. As a result, the way we look at life is quite different from the way they do. We see things in a different way. The American family for instance, is not a very united one due to the fact that most of them have to go to work and after work they most of them have to go to work and after work they are too tired to spend some time together. They do not share with their children, and the house is always alone. Besides, Americans live their lives only for them. Puerto Ricans are much more concerned about the family and the home. Americans don't give a damm about this. In other words, he has more freedom, he feels the freedom that Puerto Ricans do not experience; they don't care about age or relationships. They make decisions without thinking. Even if he is the head of a family he acts the same, never thinking of his family. That's why you have so many youngsters deserting home after they turn 18. That doesn't happen here. There the father usually is not very attached to his children. We are more sentimental; we suffer whatever happens to another person and when making decisions we consider many things. Not the Americans" (#25,69,124,143,210,316,371,528,556).

The differences concerning the ways of living have other repercussions. For example, "Life is easier in Puerto Rico. That easy-going life which is part of the Puerto Rican culture and that you must face. Also, in regard to the way of looking at things. Some moral concepts are very different. Many things which seem right for them are not so to us. For instance, the relationship in marriage between husband and wife. We believe that marriage is for good and the fact that the other spouse is part of us, belongs to us. Americans are very much concerned about food and money above all. Their most important concern is to have enough food in storage and enough money saved." They also add that Americans "work hard in order to save money to travel and have good time. Puerto Ricans work hard, but they have no interest in saving. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that Americans are more practical in regard to what they earn; they have a budget and stick to it. Not us" (#19,188,543,562,600).

The peculiar way of living of the Puerto Ricans is used to explain "their tendency to be concerned about other people. Americans are more unconcerned about others; they have a tendency to isolate themselves. As a result, they live according to their own ideas, not being worried about what the rest of people think. We would rather combine both; what we do and what people think before we act. We are always concerned about what people would do they don't give a damn about this."

It is those ideas they have about life and the ways of living that affects the way they treat each other. "They do not have that intimacy that we Puerto Ricans have among ourselves. Over there, many times you are ignored, they don't notice you. Briefly I would say that Americans live their life, their own life; not the Puerto Ricans. We are too much concerned about the others. Many times we make the other's problems our own. They are rather quiet, we are very spontaneous. What we feel, we show. They are more introverted. We speak up and express our feelings and many times we carry on with our wishes without analyzing the consequence" (#149,188,406,431,601).

Many teachers realize that "Our ways of living are getting to be like the Americans; that we are changing so much; or that we are getting to be like the Americans, so we don't have any more time to spend with the family." In spite of it all they insist that "Life is still different" and "We still look at things in a very sentimental way." In this respect one of the informants pointed out that while he was going to college in the states his teachers "showed very little interest in him. Here one lives with the student. There, they only try to perform their duty and nothing else" (#75,316,390).

In addition to differences regarding culture, language, customs, and the ways of living, teachers also take into consideration some sociological aspects to stress differences between Puerto Ricans and North Americans. The most outstanding ones are: race, social structure, sexual roles and family life.

The racial difference is established by statements like: "We are so different as human beings because of the difference in race; we don't belong to the same race." They proceed to indicate that this is most obvious in the "physical appearance of Americans, so different from Puerto Ricans. Physically the Saxon is different; they are white or blonde, they are taller and heavier." On account of these difference some teachers share the opinion that "Americans are more developed" or else that "They are a superior race , compared with Puerto Ricans" (#132, 194,222,258,375,380,416,472,526).

In terms of social structure, public school teachers mentioned some social differences which they were unable to explain. They only mention cursorily that the "social systems in Puerto Rico are different" and that the "type of society is different." They give more attention, but without specifying, to the political differences. They think that politics is taken more seriously in Puerto Rico than in the U.S.A. because for the elections most of them stay home. Not here." They also manifest that "The government system is not the same here as there. They have a government that differs greatly from ours because they live independently. Not us" (#242,247,270,278,527, 580).

Other differences are traced to family life, courtship and sex roles. Family life is perceived very differently in both societies. As far as Puerto Rico is concerned, "the family is more united and children have more parental supervision. In the States, Americans are more lax regarding parental responsibilities and having children is no reason for limiting parents' freedom." As a result, this group of teachers considered that "American fathers are some what unconcerned for the emotional needs of their children; communication is little; and they also find that the mother is detached from the family circle because each member of the family has to cook his own food and then they all go to work, even on Sundays like the rest of the week." On account of this, "Relations between father and child are different and children are allowed to learn for themselves and to face problems and situations on their own, with more independence and freedom of action." The effects of these different modes of behavior were expressed by two informants in a clear and precise way. In regard to the U.S.A. one of them says: "I have a brother; but he doesn't care whether I am dead or alive. This is because although he was born here, he was brought up in the U.S.A. However, Puerto Ricans must be in constant touch with the family. In the U.S.A. a mother can get sick and nothing happens; the son wouldn't bother to go see her." In Puerto Rico, the other informant explains, "family ties are much more closer. Parents are much more protective about the children. This protection sometimes is overdone. On the contrary, Americans let the children go their own way very soon. After he turns 18 he has to pay for his room and board in the same home. Here, in the small towns, even after the son has become independent after college, parents still expect that he would ask them for their permission for certain decisions of his life" (#790,289,331,353,383, 524).

The family setting described for North Americans is reflected, according to the interviewees, in the way children are brought up. Thus one of them says: "I can mention a good example. We do overprotect and spoil our children. The American mother may love her children, but I insist that we worry lots more." In other words, they know how to control children since childhood, whereas we do overprotect them. They train them to be by themselves, sit at the table, etc., whereas we are not so strict about that. As a result, the American parents do bring their children up in a more independent way." The same informant then adds that while she was going to college in the States, "I always noticed that they were rather more independent in acting and thinking to face life in every aspect. That's why you see that their children are forced by parents to go out and get a job in order to make money and many times the child of a wealthy family works as newspaper boy with no blemish whatsoever. Not here" (#216, 366, 491, 438).

The general opinion is that "we are more strict, more demanding with children. Here we hold to them longer. It is not so much that children are defended but overprotected. Thus, when the parent is continually saying don't do this or that, never letting the child develop his own wings, making him dependent. A contrast to this is the freedom children can enjoy in the U. S. A. Also, when they can go away from home to college. Here when a girl says 'I am going to college in Miami' the father says, 'But you can do it here; why do you have to go so far?' In the U. S. A. children are permitted to go away to summer camps. Also they are allowed to do things our children are not allowed to." As a result, "the American adolescent is allowed to enjoy certain freedom from the parents which enables him to be emotionally detached as much as socially and many times economically from the family. The Puerto Rican adolescent is on the contrary very attached and dependent to the family for a long time. That's why there in the U. S. A. children come home late at night; the young girls go out alone with different boys and youngsters go anywhere they please. They live their own life without being concerned of the people around. This wouldn't happen here. All this shows that the norms of conduct are completely different between both and that's why American parents are not concerned about the way their children behave. This, I believe has plenty to do with the juvenile delinquency and its problems in the U. S. A. (#68, 125, 304, 307, 497, 534, 566).

This way of living is closely related to the "moral concepts which are not the same either and reflect themselves in the ideas they have about courtship." Regarding this, "Young girls have various friends besides the one they go steady with. I could observe while I was living in the U.S.A. that a girl had several boy friends and they all visited her house. A different one every night. Our mothers would just die if that happenned here! Also, boys and girls go out together at a very early age, something not allowed here by our parents. In addition, in the States it is common to see among friends some love expressions which are not permitted here; such as holding hands, kissing good-bye, etc." In the same way it is usual for them to have sex relations before marriage; not here." In brief, teachers do certainly perceive "marked differences regarding courtship in Puerto Rico and the United States" (#150,183,281,372,402,438,511).

The role women play in society is another area of noted differences for teachers. They admit that "women have much more freedom in the U.S.A. than here, where their freedom is limited. That is, American women have more freedom regarding their behavior, and the way they act." They add that this is due perhaps "to the freedom they enjoy about sex." And, as a result they conclude that "we have women who are more dedicated housewives and more conscious of the position they hold in the house" (#01,121,426).

This way of thinking of the Americans is related to some ideas they have about women in general. For instance, "They don't care if the girl is not a virgin. Neither do they care if a girl goes to dance by herself or to a bar; it is just natural. It is different here. In the U.S.A. a girl considers herself independent at 21 and she can leave her home without great social sanctions. If a girl takes an apartment by herself here, she is considered no good" (#141,190,531).

Another difference that teachers are aware of regarding sexual roles is the "freedom that the American males allow their wives, something that Puerto Ricans would never permit." Teachers mean that "American males are used to going out alone with friends and they let the wife do the same, whereas Puerto Ricans would never let the wife go by herself to a party with friends." Consequently, this situation leads to "more infidelity" and it is due to the fact that "the prevailing jealousy which Puerto Rican males show about their wives does not exist among Americans" (#341,416,527).

This group of teachers believe that differences regarding sexual roles are responsible for "the strong family ties in Puerto Rico, where the father is the head of the family and not the mother like in the States. That's the reason why even when both husband and wife are working it is only one income." Also this is why "it is very common to see American husbands take up some of the house work, whereas the great majority of Puerto Ricans dislike doing this, perhaps on account of the feeling of 'machismo' so common among Latins. They think that just because they happen to be men, they have nothing to do with things around the house. Just the same, Americans let women in the U.S.A. feel more free in regard to the way they dress. There the women display their sex appeal just for sheer exposure. In Puerto Rico women at the beach are more conservative. Finally, difference in sexual roles impose stricter norms of behavior to women in P.R. than in the States and allow men more freedom to the extent that they are permitted to do as they please" (#198,266,365,500,503,527).

The third area of differences between Northamericans and Puerto Ricans is in regard to personal qualities attributed to each group. The most important of such qualities or attributes are: sociability, practicality, temperament and pride.

Sociability is defined by teachers in terms of interpersonal relations. The difference in sociability is due to the fact that "Our society is more friendly," and they point out that "social relations here are different; the way we deal with other people is different." As a result it is found that Puerto Ricans are much more concerned about social relations and they watch out for this." This contributes to the fact that "We try to share ideas with others and to know their opinion; that the Puerto Rican who goes to a party tries to socialize. The Americans are rather clannish and they don't mix with the rest." Here "We worry about getting to know each other. Not the Americans" (# 96, 98, 181, 201, 247, 334, 596).

This element of sociability contributes to the "ways of living of the Puerto Rican," which are characterized by "familiarity in dealing with each other, by his gaiety and the fact that Puerto Ricans show more hospitality. We are more cooperative, we listen to the others. There in the States you feel isolated from the rest." "Puerto Ricans are more inclined to be cooperative and ready to do a favor. They like to make suggestions when there is a problem, they like to help others to find solutions to problems." In addition to what has been previously mentioned, public school teachers insist that Puerto Ricans are "much more considerate, since they take their time in examining a situation and can place themselves in another person's position regarding some problem. Americans, on the other hand, would say that it is none of their business. As a Puerto Rican I am willing to help anybody; why, I don't know. This can be explained by the fact that we have more social preoccupations while Americans are more carefree. They are very individualistic and worry only about themselves. Puerto Ricans are concerned about their neighbor as much as themselves. Americans lead some sort of a carefree life, while Puerto Ricans have a tendency to restrict their actions. Americans live their own lives without interfering with anybody else's life. This really means that Puerto Ricans are much too worried of what others would say, whereas Americans don't give a damm about this. We think in terms of others. For instance, we worry about what people say if we dress this way or the other. If something happens to Joe, we feel sorry for him. In that we are different. Americans don't worry about the rest." In brief, teachers think that "Here we have more personal ties, are more attached to the home and anything that happens to another person becomes our concern. Puerto Ricans worry too much about their fellow man, whereas Americans mind their own business and do not care about anybody else." (# 303, 339, 363, 381, 450, 479, 515, 533, 561, 591).

The materialistic attitude which teachers see among Americans is closely related to the practical attitude about living which is also attributed to them. Teachers start by saying that "The American way of life is totally different from ours because they lead a rushed life and their morals are centered around the material side of life. In other words, they are more practical, they think in terms of the materialistic side of life. Puerto Ricans on the contrary, are more idealistic, more inclined to thinking than to action. This is due to the Puerto Rican idiosyncracy: He is a dreamer, whereas Americans are pragmatic. Americans like money more than anything else as well as everything which is practical. I believe Puerto Ricans can live with the spiritual aspects only but as a result some times many of us are taken for big fools; not the Americans." (# 120, 222, 320, 375, 490).

The ultimate consequence of that materialistic - practical attribute of the Americans is that they "do not seem to have the feelings that a teacher should have. Also, that in comparison to Puerto Ricans, Americans are less sentimental. Puerto Ricans look at things in a different way. For instance when somebody dies, Americans take it as a very usual thing, not us. If somebody's mother dies here, it is a real tragedy. Americans don't seem to mind at all: if the mother died, well, she died and that's all. Another thing is that they live in a rush and they never seem to relax for anything. They work like mad to take vacations but even for that they seem to rush. In vacations they don't seem to need too much to wear nor many luxuries, whereas Puerto Ricans would take three suitcases and a small trousseau. Finally, the practical trait seems to represent Americans as more interested in working than in getting an education." (# 101, 117).

This basic difference between both groups means that Americans "are only concerned about enjoying temselves and forget others. When they go out with another friend, Puerto Rican or American, they are only concerned about paying their own bill and not the friend's". The Puerto Rican would say, "I pay the bill". The same thing happens when borrowing something. In our case we generally refuse small things, they demand to be refunded to the last penny, so materialistic are they" (#54, 123).

The above kind of appreciation leads teachers to point out the "exceedingly high importance that Americans give to money and other material things". However, they also add, "It is not that we don't care for money, the thing is that we like to share it. For instance, on Good Friday we don't like to go to work, but the federal government works on that day and pays for it. Even with double pay we wouldn't work on that day. Fundamentally this quality makes them too much concerned about money, Not us. We are very happy with less, as long as we live" (#244, 587).

The so-called Latin temper is cited as another difference. Thus, they claim that "the Puerto Rican temper is different from the American for the simple reason that we live in different environments. Generally the Puerto Rican type is more impulsive and is more sentimental, more passionate and very expressive, whereas Americans are more inclined to be quiet. That's why they think it's funny the way we act, the way of expression, the tone of the voice, the gestures and our customs. It is different when we communicate. We speak in a loud tone, with a lot

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of fire; Americans are soft and quiet when they talk. We do really sound like too much noise. It is because when we talk we also try to express things by using our hands. Americans are less expressive, never get excited. We are more apprehensive, sentimental; they are very different because of the way they think. They don't worry as much as we do. They are practical, we are sentimental. They take it easy. They don't waste any time beating around the bush; they go straight to the point. They avoid everything that is not practical. We are more sentimental; we think things over and over again. Latins seem to show more fervor; they tend to have more control over this. In other words, Americans are passive and more calm in taking things. They are cold. They seem to relax about everything they do. We usually get very excited". One of the informants very aptly summarizes this difference when he says: "I consider Puerto Rico to be more active, more aggressive. We can't hide our feelings. We speak up when something is bothering us. Maybe they know how to hide their feelings under their quiet surface. This means that Puerto Ricans get excited about anything whereas Americans are rather at ease all the time. We do show our sorrows and our gayety, so we are more emotive and more expressive. They are more quiet". (#35, 39, 48, 91, 207, 208, 301, 314, 347, 349, 464, 517, 544, 571, 577).

Besides the attributes described previously, public school teachers mention some other minor ones to justify the differences they perceive between Puerto Ricans and Americans. One of these is the so-called "Puerto Rican pride". This is depicted by saying that "Puerto Ricans

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do have more personal pride than the Americans. This tends to show in Puerto Ricans' efforts to prove that they are more masculine than Americans. For this reason they have shown to be more courageous and to have more courage than Americans in the battlefields." Another manifestation of this personal pride is that "Puerto Ricans are very much aware of the way they live: they want to look well even when they don't have a penny. What Americans really care for is to have a wallet full of dollars, never mind physical appearance." (#41, 79, 95).

The personal freedom of Americans is also mentioned. This is described in character terms as well as in relation to the ways of being. "Americans are very decided people. They have no restraint about the way they act. For instance, they act here the same way they do at home. When we live there we try to imitate the way they dress, the words they use, but they wouldn't do the same." That freedom, teachers claim, is also manifested "when they get away from the U.S.A.; they don't care to be away from home. Puerto Ricans try to keep alive their customs when they are away. Americans don't care to do so." (#424).

Another quality they mentioned with regard to Puerto Ricans is that of being reserved. They explain this as "Puerto Ricans" resistance to publicizing what they are about to do." "Americans, on the other hand, are considered too frank." They don't beat around the bush, they go straight to the point and are simpler than us. They are also well organized."

Other differences of a neutral type between the two groups which the public school teachers point out are geographic and economic, plus some unspecified ones. The economic factors are described in terms of "the abundance of their country, but of food in particular." They end by saying that "Americans have everything in abundance, whereas we are rather poor in all aspects." This is explained by saying that "Their economic means are more; they have more land for cultivation and of course produce more. As a whole, their nation is richer, thus Americans are able to enjoy more freedom than us." They also recognize among the economic differences "the technical and administrative capacity they have, higher standards of living and the atomic power and powerful naval fleet which Puerto Ricans don't have" (#27, 47, 270, 292, 430, 549, 580).

The geographical differences refer exclusively to climate. The unspecified differences include general comments like: "They are so different is all fundamental aspects-- they have such different concepts about friendship, family, and patriotism. American values differ greatly from our own; their complete ideology differs greatly from ours. And finally, the Puerto Rican personality is completely different from the American" (#10, 87, 139, 410, 432).

The previous section has dealt in detail with the nature and content of neutral differences perceived by Puerto Rican public school teachers with respect to Northamericans and Puerto Ricans. An analysis of negative and positive statements, similar to the previous one, follows. The characteristics of teachers who gave each type of statement is given first; a discussion of the meanings attached to each category follows.

Their attitudes towards food are different. Americans are not so fussy about food. They would eat anything. Not the Puerto Ricans. Americans are very respectful about the other's rights. Their sense of humor is different from ours. Thus humorous situations are different, and a joke that makes an American laugh does not necessarily make a Latin laugh." Finally, with regard to authority it is noticed that Puerto Ricans are respectful towards any established authority while Americans can be disrespectful to any authority, regardless of its importance, and consider it proper" (#130, 280, 336, 340, 468, 489, 575).

Besides the differences of personal traits, teachers also mention some others which they don't explain in detail. In addition, they refer to difference of an educational nature principally in connection with the educational system. They say that "In the U.S.A. you can feel that classes and the general atmosphere are rather formal while here, they are gayer and more informal. The relationship between students and professors is also more formal. Here the predominant note is friendliness rather than formality. There, more emphasis is given to sports than to the academic aspects. Here it is the other way around: more stress is given to the academic than to sport activities. Also, social activities are very important over there. They seem to be more concerned about knowing U. S. history even though it has nothing to do with daily life. Here, more accent is given to things related to everyday life, in a practical way.Finally, here we study English as a second language. In the U.S.A. they don't have Spanish as a second language" (#363, 386, 454, 497).

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The negative statements are expressed mostly by married teachers of non-manual origins, 32 or older, and residents in urban, non-metropolitan areas. They all have tenure, teach in urban areas, and have academic indices above the median. Those who teach at the secondary level are teaching some subject in humanities, and those at the elementary level are teaching one of the first grades.

The negative comments, presented on table 5, are divided into three categories: cultural, social and personal traits. The data on this table shows that 7 out of 10 statements are of a social character fundamentally racial.

Racial-type statements are related to racial discrimination in the U.S.A., to racial superiority as shown by Americans and to specific attitudes Americans have towards Puerto Ricans. Although all three aspects are closely interrelated, there are nuances which are better understood if each aspect is discussed individually.

Racial discrimination is presented from three different perspectives: as a clear and evident fact among Northamericans, as a differing element between both societies, and as a testimony of an experience to which Puerto Ricans have been subjected to in the states.

The existence of racial discrimination in the American society is expressed in statements such as: "Americans are exceedingly biased; they go for segregation and are full of prejudices." They go on to point out that "The U.S.A. still has a separation between the North and the South which is evident. They seem to ignore individual values of personal worthiness embodied in the Bill of Rights. One man, citing a personal experience as evidence of this, said that "While in the Army, I could see continous fighting on account of descrimination. Also, when I went to live in New York there was a lot of fighting between Negroes and whites. I was a witness to constant brawls with shooting and stoning. There I saw a clerk in a drugstore who wouldn't wait on a gentleman who was colored. This tension is what I don't like, this struggle on account of race differences. I really detest this racism among Americans" (#05, 08, 36, 143, 154, 325, 342, 576, 581).

Racial discrimination takes a different slant when used as an element of comparison between the two societies. From this angle school teachers point out that "Discrimination is more obvious there than here. We don't have as many prejudices as they do. This is because we are all integrated: everybody here mixes with the rest, black or white, it does not matter. The explanation may lie in the fact that Puerto Ricans do not see differences in skin color while Americans look at color as a racial difference. Many of them think of color as a disease. In this they differ from Puerto Ricans who are friendly to all kinds of people and are used to living with colored people around" (#99, 120, 333, 487, 512, 548, 579, 567, 594).

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The reasons offered by teachers to explain the racial difference between the two societies are various. They mention that here: "There is a tendency to pretend more and you get to know the person closer. We see discrimination as a passive thing, but there it is rather dynamic". Finally they mention the distinction between the concept of democrasy in the United States and in Latin America. The former is thought to be "more technical, more mechanical, since they don't mix with colored people and, in spite of the laws set down by the Constitution, they have their own segregated clubs. This is because Anglo-Saxons have a tendency to interpret democracy institutionally. In such a way that people do not practice it in daily life. I can tell of a time I was with a colored guy and they wouldn't let him in just because of his color" (#179, 210, 452, 557).

They add that in Puerto Rico "We think all of us are equal and that we should have the same opportunities. Those racial differences are an outrage because in the eyes of God we are all equal. In Puerto Rico the differences between races are rather differences between social classes. Because of all this, Puerto Ricans are considered to be more tolerant and Americans more racist (#011, 051, 146, 429, 520).

The third point of view, the discriminating attitude as a testimony lived by Puerto Ricans in their relationships with Northamericans, is stated with the assertion that "The American people have always had the tendency to think that they can't mix with us for the simple reason that they consider us inferior to them. That is why the discriminate against Puerto Ricans, just for the simple reason that they consider themselves superior. That's why the say Puerto Ricans are Negroes, and when they talk about us they are very mean. They manifest this by treating us like dirt, just like the inferior people they think we are. The effect on Puerto Ricans is varied. Someone I know had to take another name on account of the things he had to go through. Many times when a Puerto Rican goes looking for a job he is not hired just because he is a Puerto Rican. This way we are prevented from showing our capabilities and intellectual potentialities. New York is an example. Puerto Ricans living there are forcibily isolated, they are under the pressure of feeling inferior to the Americans who continually manifest this. Once I saw a sign that read: No Dogs or Puerto Ricans allowed, and in another place there was a sign which read: Apartment for rent, but not for Puerto Ricnas, also you come across a lot of places exclusively for whites, like in New Orleans. There, I was in a church where Negroes had to sit in the section for colored people, just like in the bus and working places. The situation was the same in the Army. This is going on and will be going on in the future. They call us damned. On top of this, Americans get higher salaries, and if something goes wrong Puerto Ricans are to blame" (#041, 138, 154, 187, 240, 243, 272, 274, 276, 295, 296, 328, 359, 362, 379, 404, 523).

Even those who have not had personal experiences of this kind say that "Although I have not had any personal experience in regard to this, I have read a lot about it and I can say that the discrimination that Americans have against Puerto Ricans is very evident in all aspects, and the worst is that in Puerto Rico we are getting some of this influence. I used to live in Guánica, in a section where Americans were living, and they referred to the place as the Puerto Rican and the American section. Now Americans are getting closer to Puerto Ricans; before they were very distant. They used to have their own hotel and club. They could take part in the parties of the Puerto Ricans but Puerto Ricans could not attend their parties" (#289, 290, 494).

With regad to the attitudes of racial superiority as an ingredient of the Northamerican racial pattern, this group of teachers makes a distinction between prejudice as overt behavior and the attitude of racial superiority which might lead to a prejudiced behavior. It is interesting to bring forward the ideological scheme of teachers with regard to this second aspect, although both are very much related. Teachers express this second aspect in the following terms: "Most Americans look at Puerto Ricans with evident idifference even though they might show their liking. There is some hypocrisy in them, an unsincere attitude towards Puerto Ricans, and at the same time they think of them as being inferior. This is due perhaps to the fact that they think of themselves superior in race and in culture. Also, they have a tendency to classify Puerto Ricans in a lower level of intellectual ability. They feel the same about our social level and about morals. They think of us as immoral and vice-ridden people. They also think their points of view should prevail and that they know everything. For them our mentality is the 'native' one, with the undertone that we are inferior" (#045, 256, 336, 490, 509, 551, 588, 596).

According to all these traits, teachers think that "Americans try to boss the other nations of the world around. They believe they are the chosen race. Thus, everything other people do is queer or strange for them. Only what they do is not backward. All they can see is other countries are the poor living conditions or why people dress differently. Right here, many Americans think of Puerto Ricans as if we wre their private property. Just because the island has been an American possession they see themselves as masters and lords. They believe they are superior about everything: education, culture, training, breeding; just like masters and slaves. It is the same attitude they have towards colored people. Here, education goes for the majority of people; there, the minority is the educated one. In spite of this, the skilled workers feel superior to us. The truth is that they only want us as laborers because the American has always tried to enslave us. Perhaps they feel superior because of the international prestige they have" (#171, 237, 243, 273, 325, 371).

As a result of that attitude they think that "If you don't know English, you are worth nothing. If you don't know English you are nothing. Probably, they want to be able to understand when they are spoken to, or else they are too proud on their language. I do not criticize this, but it worries me that they want us to learn English while they don't show any interest in learning Spanish. The worst is that this fact goes against us in the Army. They look down on us; they don't consider us American sitizens and many times they try to ridicule us at work. And everything because they think of us as being inferior; they do beleive that they are much superior. I would say that their racial superiority is something that comes from within. The whole thing might be traced to the idea and pride of being the providers of undeveloped counties and poor classes exploited by them, like Puerto Rico. It is all a superiority complex; after all, they are nothing. That's my opinion" (#006, 024, 067, 086, 126, 169, 171, 295, 328, 338, 584).

The attitude of racial superiority and prejudice by Americans are further particularized in a series of comments like: "They don't know Puerto Rico, and when it is mentioned they act as if this island was nonexistent; they are not conscious of the level of culture attained by Puerto Rico. The general impression is that Americans think we still are backward in every sense of the word. Just the same, some Americans think we are not ready socially, politically or econimically to catch up to them. Not to speak of the race discrimination. These attitudes are related to different ideals. We want to have the island for us; they want to take over the whole island. During official ceremonies we have to sing their national anthem; they wouldn't do the same with ours. We don't have a merchant marine; we have to rely on theirs. We cannot have an army base in their country, but they can have on here. We do not vote for their president, but we have to back all the decisions they take like the war in Vietnam, Korea or the intervention in the Dominican Republic. In brief, they have a certain animosity against Puerto Ricans and they don't tolerate many things from us. That's why they think that Puerto Ricans are no good, inferior to them, that we are nothing, we are all lazy and that to be Puerto Rican is worse than being a Negro. All this has contributed to the great feeling of hostility between the two groups" (#029, 036, 037, 075, 087, 133, 148, 256, 274, 290, 325, 461, 584).

The other negative statements of a social nature were very few, only nine. The criticize the way family relations are handled. ("Americans do not care about family relations"), or else they present problems related to the social structure such as unemployment, drug addiction and delinquency (#342).

The negative statements concerning Americans' personal traits revolve around their sociability. Teachers see them as people "who lack human warmth, affection; persons who are not concerned about other people's problems." Also, as "scarcely humanitarian and showing very little hospitality and not very friendly." Teachers also think that "they don't have any sense of politeness because they are very rude with their employess, and when you go around and come across one of them they wouldn't even say hello, not even a smile. Not like us: when we see somebody we say hello even if we don't know the person" (#011, 110, 177, 192, 376, 435, 522, 582)'

Another negative quality attributed to them is the materialistic interest they show for everything: "they do everything for money's sake; they take advantage of every situation and in many cases they live off people around them." Also, "they are proud, they feel insecure and don't have any sense of cooperativeness" (#018, 248, 355).

The comments about the cultural aspects are not so many either. Only one refers to the language factor: "As long as you don't talk English, they get mad." Most comments deal with their ways of living. Of this they say that "the Americans' ways of living are rather disorganized" and that they live "an abnormal sort of life because they are always rushing." Their ways of dress are also criticized: "they don't care how they dress they wear anything." They also criticize "their lack of religion" as well as "the personal cleanliness habits; and say that while "we are very much concerned about looking nice and clean, they are very careless about their personal hygiene" (#023, 029, 106, 115, 128, 137, 418, 557).

The negative statements made by this group of public school teachers about Americans were also accompanied by similar expressions about Puerto Ricans. However, there is a significant difference: the number of negative statements about Americans is three times greater than those about Puerto Ricans. In individual terms this means that a larger proportion of teachers express negative statements about Americans that about Puerto Ricans. The group which expresses negative statements about Puerto Ricans comprises 67 teachers, a little over 10% of the total group. They are not different from the total group in personal or social characteristics, but like the group that made negative statements about Americans their academic indices are above the median. This group of teachers is also caracterized by the fact that most of them were not taking any college course at the time of the interview and most of them prefer another grade level. The next table presents a classification of their statements.

Table 3

Detailed classification of Negative Statements Made by Public School Teachers About Puerto Ricans

Classification of Statements		Frequency	Percentage
Cultural		9	10
Culture	3		
Dress habits	1		
Religion	4		
Habits (Other)	1		
Social		34	38
Race	13		
Sex roles	3		
Social structure	3		
Upbringing	6		
Courtship	1		
Educational activities	8		
Personal Traits		46	52
Sociability	5		
Temper	2		
Laziness	3		
Others	36		

The analysis of the statements reveals that criticisms of a cultural nature constituted the smallest proportion. These comments refer mostly to their perception that "Puerto Ricans think of their culture as an inferior one, which is false." They add that Puerto Ricans claim to be a Catholic "but the truth is that they never go to church.' With regard to cleanliness, they say that "Puerto Ricans have no sense of order in this and they throw garbage anywhere." Finally, they say Puerto Ricans are "rather conservation about the way they dress, since they are not up on the latest fashion fads " (#232, 341, 413, 567).

With regard to the negative statements of a social nature, the predominant ones are related to race. This is explained in terms of feelings that make Puerto Ricans "feel inferior to them and to appear as if we were a lower kind of race. This inferiority complex forces Puerto Ricans to avoid being classified as such, and in the states they try to imitate Americans in an effort to create a different kind of personality. In most cases it is besides the point whether they do right or wrong by doing this. They just want to pass for Americans. This inferiority complex is also felt here. While taking some courses toghether with some Americans I felt awkward, as I did not have a good command of English. Soon I realized that I was developing an inferiority complex " (#005,339,404,490,538, 570).

The other social comments, revolve around the concept of "masculinity, the sense of collective insecurity and ambivalence that characterizes Puerto Ricans, the high cost of living, the stern way of raising children and the lack of training and educational facilities "(#152, 186, 231, 267, 354, 446, 579).

The negative attributes which these 67 teachers ascribe to Puerto Ricans, constitute the largest proportion of all their verbalized statements. It is found that those related to sociability are the most severe criticisus. They say that "Puerto Ricans are always minding everybody's business, and many times they do this to criticisus. We must admit that we are much too concerned about what people think and say, and also we must face the fact that unlike Americans, we do love to gossip." Besides this, they believe that "Puerto Ricans are rather lazy; also when they have to face a problem they seem to go crazy." They also indicate that "We are very untidy and we like to argue. Puerto Ricans are more jealous, more conservative, less tolerant and more irresponsible; they look at things with malice and they are less organized. With regard to being revengeful, we do keep a grudge for a long time and many times commit murder for that reason." Finally, they also add that Puerto Ricans "let themeselves be exploited while others live off them," and that "They are timid and less active " (#008, 018, 029, 039, 040, 041, 137, 158, 209, 267, 365, 369, 388, 402, 431, 446, 462, 503, 532, 589).

The positive statements about both Americans and Puerto Ricans were given by approximately one-third of the total group of teachers. The group is divided almost evenly in terms of the national group lauded: 18% of them made positive statements about the Puerto Ricans and 16% of them about the Americans. In terms of the total number of statements offered (1,373), the positive ones represent 16%, which is distributed into 9% with regard to Americans and 7% about Puerto Ricans.

The positive comments about the Americans are made by married teachers with a spouses in manual occupations. They tend to be Protestants, with four or more years of college and a major in secondary education. They work in single enrollment and most of them live in rural areas.

The number of variables characterizing those who had positive comments about Puerto Ricans is rather small. They also happen to be married and working in single enrrollment, but unlike the other group they have nine or fewer years of professional experience and they mostly teach some subjects related to humanitites at the secondary level. Those teaching subjects related to natural science made the smaller number of positive statements about Puerto Ricans.

The positive statements about Americans are presented on table number 8. Most of them tend to cluster in the areas of personal traits and social factors. The cultural and economical factors are less frequently mentioned.

With respect to culture, only one informant thought that the "U.S.A. has a cultural background superior to us," whereas others think that "the fundamental difference is found in the ways of life." They indicate that "Puerto Ricans are more devoted to their duties and enslaves themselves to work while Americans are more inclined to enjoy life in a rather easy-going way. We like to complicate life and they like to make it easier." "They are concerned about the fact that "Americans enjoy life in every way but Puerto Rico seem to find enjoyment mainly in drinking and dancing. For that reason Americans seems to enjoy life more. They practice different kinds of sports, games, and enjoy going to movies. They like outdoor activities and nature. We don't care about those things" (#231, 344, 479).

With regard to dress they say that "Americans like to wear simple clothes and they don't care how they look as long as they feel comfortable" (#365, 462, 524).

They also stress the fact that "Americans are more religious than Puerto Ricans because they practice their religion. Here, on the contrary, Puerto Ricans have abandoned it. So in the states adolescents respect the law and have a religious feeling. Puerto Ricans are not really religious, only in name; they seem to forget this when they act" (#375, 391, 413, 435).

Other teachers believe that the "well-balanced diet that Americans have accounts for another difference" (#431, 539).

With regard to social aspects, they claim that "Americans share the work around the house" and they look positively on the liberal attitude Americans have toward women, such as letting them dance with other men. They also consider that Americans make better husbands than Puerto Ricans and look at things from a more wholesome point of view. Public school teachers also point out that Americans have a different concept of respect and for this reason children have more respect for parents who in turn give them more freedom. This sense of respect "prevents American mothers from enslaving themselves to their children. This is contrary to P.R. where the son depends on his mother for everything until he gets married. In the States they do their own laundry, they iron their own clothes and run errands.

Children are not spoiled there, no 'ay bendito', and when they turn 18 they have to go out and get a job" (#137, 152, 375, 392, 402, 485, 575).

Americans are also appraised positively with regard to social structure: "They are more conscious about the way they vote during elections." They also think that "Civil rights are mucho more accurately expressed in their Constitution and are applied in a more effective way in order to give more protection to all citizens." The interviewees think that this is due perhaps to the fact that "There is a deeper sense of responsibility in the citizenry towards the community because Americans are brought up that way, lots more than we are" (#052, 140, 280).

Attitude towards education is regarded as more positive among Northamericans because "people there are given many more opportunities to enjoy museums and other cultural activities. Also, they have the good habit of reading books and the daily papers while here that is a problem because we do not like to read. This means that Americans have a wider cultural background and they can talk about mostly everything. Even people with grammar school can talk about psychology. They are more inclined to read; they are more cultured and they can get better jobs and positions in public life. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, have less chances for success" (#081, 244, 535, 579).

This group of teachers claims that Americans are much more inclined to be hard workers than Puerto Ricans. "Not only do they enjoy work more but they have more respect for work than we do. This explains why many times an American boss does certain things himself like carrying boxes, which a Puerto Rican would not do. They are not concerned about working extra hours. Puerto Ricans don't like it even if they are paid." Teachers sum up their views by saying that "For Americans, work is a duty, whereas for Puerto Ricans it is a punishment, and there is little esteem for work and those who do it." To this they attribute the sense of "blabbing away" of the Puerto Ricans with regard to research works and studies which never seem to get anywhere, and the presence of many lazy people in comparison to the greater responsibility observed in Americans" (#269, 336, 343, 367, 570).

The personal attributes represent another area of positive judgement. These teachers think that "Americans are attached to themselves, but never forgetting their fellow human beings." They think of Americans as "individuals who have more personal relations with people around them, who are more sincere and have a friendly disposition. They are seen as persons to be trusted because their friendship is more sincere. Although they might seem to be less expressive they can be better friends and for a longer time. Besides, they are thought to be "much more polite, behave better and do not get into fights" (#190, 249, 341, 346, 375, 491).

The personal attributes mentioned by public school teachers include the notion of practicality, but it differs from the neutral category formerly mentioned where the same term is equivalent to a materialistic attitude. In positive terms it means that "Americans knwo what they want. Puerto Ricans are the opposite. They leave everything for tomorrow and never make plans, so they miss all the chances that life might be able to offer." To be practical also means that "they don't beat around the bush," that "they go straight to the point and try to get advantage of any opportunity that may come to them, disregarding the Puerto Rican 'ay bendito'. This trait also means that for an American a problem is solved regardless of the alternatives available for its solution" (#224, 244, 505).

To all this, teachers add that Americans are "a very dynamic people who like to take a chance on anything that amounts to money," and that "They also make better use of money." This is explained by the fact that "Puerto Ricans are too concerned about keeping up appearances. We first think of having a T.V. set, a car and a good hi-fi instead of the basic things. Americans, on the contrary, think first about the basic things in life and then secondary ones. They don't throw money away the way Puerto Ricans do" (#106, 216, 334, 418m 548).

The attributes mentioned above are not the only positive ones teachers ascribe to Americans. They also think of them as being "more independent, people who accept themselves the way they are and rarely try to appear different from what they really are. They are considered punctual persons with a talent for technical things and for business. Also, more optimistic, more patriotic, more ambitious, more broad minded and self-assured" (#081, 267, 280, 357, 481, 489, 538, 560).

The last positive aspect given to Americans is economic: teachers stress "the better employment opportunities and working conditions in the states, particularly the higher salaries obtainable there" (#579, 594).

The former analysis of the positive statement made by public school teachers concerning Americans, reveals that 2 out of 10 teachers praise them ascribing desirable qualities to them. The presentation of such qualities is generally done by contrasting negative qualities attributed to Puerto Ricans. This of course, implies a self underestimation within this group. However, it is indeed significant that it is not done in structural terms of society but rather in particular or personal ones. In spite of this it can be argued that the difference thus presented might be considered an invalid one, the product of analytical schemes, because teachers do not make the distinction between structural and individual perceptions in their way of thinking. In that case, they might be transferring what seem individual perceptions to the social whole and not merely to individuals. This assumption has fundamental implications for the problem of cultural erosion in Puerto Rico. Such implications no doubt pose different perspectives to the problem of cultural erosion in Puerto Rico and presents this group as a possible contributor to that problem.

The positive statements about Puerto Ricans were made by 77 teachers. They represent about 13% of the total group of teachers under study. The average number of positive statements is 13 per teacher. This figure corresponds to the positive comments made about Americans. The largest number of statements are attributes of a personal character centered around the concept of sociability.

As said before, this category involves the perception of difference in interpersonal relationships which in turn imply diverse social effects. Teachers describe this trait by indicating that "Puerto Ricans are a much more united people; they show more love for their country; their friends and their friendship ties last more than among Americans." As a result they believe Puerto Ricans to be "much more concerned about helping our neighbors, more affectionate, more cooperative, more human, more friendly and communicative." They conclude that, "as a group we feel united and we like to share with others. We never think that anybody is going to harm us. Americans, on the other hand, don't trust anybody, even their own people; they try to hide their belongings from other people so as not to be deceived; they don't have confidence in anyone. Not us. We like to cooperate with the rest. Not the Americans" (# 048, 069, 085, 168, 209, 244, 294, 369, 435, 488, 512, 548, 576, 577).

All these qualities move Puerto Ricans to "get acquainted and become a friend to any person from the beginning. Thus, they start a very spontaneous relationship with next-door neighbors regardless of race or cred. This accounts for the Puerto Rican willingness to help somebody when in need. Americans are not like this. They don't actually care about what happens next door, that's the way they are" (# 011, 100, 117, 290).

The significance of this positive typing attributed to Puerto Ricans by the teachers is very well expressed by one of them who spent some time in the United States. He says: "While I lived there I came to realize that we Puerto Ricans are a much more understanding people. Since we come from such a small place we mostly know each other. This does not happen there. The mainland is so big and there are so many persons and people that one does not find the harmony and understanding so common in Puerto Rico. We are more united, more understanding, more human."

"We like to help each other, even by giving advice wherever we can. I worked there and I noticed that Americans were cold and indifferent. You know, we like to help anybody who is in need. If on the street we bump into somebody with problems we go out of our way to help. Not the Americans. They wouldn't pay any attention. In fact, they see somebody with problems and continue their own way. It is not their concern. We, on the contrary, are trained form childhood to help people in need. That's why we are more united, we learn to be affectionate at home and outside we practice this whrever we go. Not the Americans" (# 480).

Complementary to all that has been mentioned, this group of teachers concludes that "Puerto Ricans can adjust themeselves to new environments better than the Americans because they are more attached to nature, they like to work hard, they don't waste any time and they have more initiative and are more cultured than Americans. These, with exceptions, are more lewd than Puerto Ricans, more aggresive with ladies, and do not pay attention to the way they speak, particularly in the presence of ladies" (# 014, 083, 123, 148, 271, 387, 533).

The attributes of a social nature emphasize that "Puerto Ricans are more tolerant in all aspects -- religious, political, social, racial, -- and that's why they have no anti-personal feelings like racism." They also contend that "Puerto Ricans have a much developed sense of democracy because it is a daily life experience practiced with his neighbors." They insist in "the positive side of existing sexual roles, respect towards parents and elders, and family relations of a primary nature." They also stress "the positive attitude towards education" and claim that Puerto Ricans are very well trained and like to keep on learning and improving themeselves." (# 049, 164, 179, 268, 303, 395, 516).

With regard to the cultural aspects, they claim that "Our customs are more simple but better off because they do not stress economic factors thus permitting Puerto Ricans to have a broader perspective of life and society. They insist that "We have a higher cultural sense of dress, since the Americans don't pay attention to this." They also claim that "Puerto Ricans tend to be more religious." Finally, praise the Puerto Rican way of life "as one that is more normal when compared to life in the United States of America. There, the dominating elements are delinquency and vice. One has to be continually careful since it is frightening to walk alone." (# 159, 248, 379, 369, 448, 487, 494, 559).

The analysis which has been made on the perception of public school teachers regarding the United States and Northamericans shows the variety of perceptions that exist among teachers. The positive and negative attributes give evidence of the extremes in such perceptive thinking. This panorama of perceptions not only reveals their complexity of the perceptions themeselves, but at the same time shows that teachers are very much aware of the attributes that define them as cultural beings. They also reveal the dramatic potential for collaboration and hostility between two national groups in everyday conflict.

Chapter V

Some Professional Aspects of Teaching in Puerto Rico

In this section we are going to present the data related to academic training in the profession. Included are the following:

1. Attitudes towards professional preparation.
2. Recommendations for the institutions in charge of the professional preparation of teachers.
3. Perception of the educational system as regards the participation offered to the teacher.
4. Suggestions to government in regard to improvement of the teaching profession.

The professional preparation offered by teacher training institutions is our first concern in this section. The data reveals that a little more than half of public school teachers believe their university education was excellent or very good (340; 57%), while the rest consider that it was good or regular.

Some of the typical comments were as follows:

(Teacher classifies education as excellent)

> "I classify it as excellent, because as a teacher I have been successful in my work. My superiors have judged me as being well prepared and I feel satisfied."

(Teacher classifies education as regular)

> "When I took charge of a classroom I found that my training was not applicable to the classroom or my daily tasks. For example, I didn't know how to keep enrollment records or make out a work plan."

Of the 577 teachers who expressed themselves concerning what they thought of theoretical professional courses, 49% (281) classified them as excellent or very good; 49% as good or regular, and 2% thought them deficient.

It is interesting to note that the courses which they thought of major value were (in descending order): psychology courses, methodology, social science and education courses, English and Spanish; those of average value: science and mathematics, basic courses, history, humanities and student teaching courses; and those of least use: home economics, art, music, commercial courses, physical education and fine arts.

The teachers offer the following reasons to explain the practical value of courses:

> They are related with what is taught (they use the knowledge acquired in the classroom)
>
> They help them to understand the students (work with them better)
>
> Personal enrichment (add to knowledge, etc.)
>
> They taught them techniques and methods they currently use in the classroom
>
> They facilitate their work (keeping records, etc.)
>
> They can use knowledge learned in these courses to transmit it to their students.
>
> They help them work better with the community
>
> They help them solve problems (none specified)

The most important reasons given, however, were the first four mentioned above.

Out of a total of 441 teachers, student-teaching training was seen as excellent or very good by 64% (286); good or regular by 33% (144) and deficient by 3% (11). One hundred fifty-eight teachers did not take student-teaching.

It is significant that in spite of the fact that 64% of teachers perceive student-teaching as excellent or very good they do not rate it among the most profitable courses. It comes out a poor tenth when compared with other college courses. They make the following recommendations as possible suggestions to improve it:

> Offer the student-teaching seminar before the actual teaching experience
>
> Extend the time dedicated to practice teaching
>
> Improve the selection of cooperating teachers
>
> Improve supervision
>
> Reduce the academic load and the student-teaching program of those participating
>
> Make student-teaching more ample and intensive (practice with different groups and different subjects; practice in the metropolitan area, etc.).
>
> That student-teaching be a more real experience (truer vision of what will really be found later on in the classroom; that it prepare and relate participants better as regards the materials and educational viewpoints that will

be used later).

Recommendations to the practice centers (have the practice centers within the same university).

In the recommendations given by teachers to improve teacher-training programs in general, most importance is given to student-teaching (35%; 189) and pedagogical methodology (28%; 154). Recommendations related to teachers (23%; 123), to services and facilities (19%; 101) and to teacher selection (7%; 37), receive lesser attention. (Out of a total of 600 teachers, 53 did not give an opinion).

The following recommendations were made by this group of teachers:

Recommendations concerning student-teaching:

Concerning the selection of cooperating teachers:

"In regard to student teaching, instead of assigning a teacher from the same school it should be given by an experienced teacher or by a teacher from the university itself. Sometimes these teachers lack the necessary preparation, that is they have their methods, then one tries to copy them. In consequence, if one isn't well-prepared, one learns nothing or very little from the experience. Another thing is that the visits from the university supervisors are very few; I don't know if that's because they have too many teachers assigned to them. Also, the student teacher should be allowed initiative. That is, the student teacher should be visited (while teaching), so that he is stimulated and kept from getting lazy, but at the same time he should be allowed some initiative to experiment on his own and try new things."

Concerning the supervision of student-teaching:

"Too much importance is given to daily planning and organization. One notes how the practice supervisor or the professor from the University of Puerto Rico pays more attention to how the objective was written, etc., instead of evaluating the teacher as an educator and not planner."

"Those individuals who are taking student-teaching (practice teaching) should have a lighter program. One who is specializing in teaching and is practicing should take fewer credits so that he has more time to visit students and prepare for class. In these practice courses the student teacher almost has to be better prepared than his own teacher, but the academic load leaves little time for this."

Concerning student-teaching itself

"I think one does one's practicing and acquires knowledge of plans and the use of records, but I believe that there is need for more activities where the teacher absorbs the realities of teaching. Although theoretically one learns much about techniques, one needs practice, reality. One should be shown demonstration classes and be given certain additional training and not merely to give a class every day. Additional aid is needed, for example, in the preparation of audiovisual material, techniques for studying the individuals student, etc. This is necessary because from the beginning one has to face new, unfamiliar situations.

I practiced with the ninth grade and then taught general history, a new situation for me; in addition, the director cannot give much orientation. For example, my case involved working with a principal on the verge of retiring who wished to help me but couldn't; therefore I had to look for that help elsewhere."

"In the University of Puerto Rico they teach you theory, and only for one semester. There is no chance to get to know the realities. I only know that I practiced one class --arithmetic. When I went to work I had difficulties because I had only practiced in one discipline."

Concerning the Practice Centers:

"The manner of evaluation. It tends to dishearten one very often. It is very important grade the one on student-teaching and I don't believe that this is the best way because other factors are involved. One should just be approved or disapproved, and that way no problems are created."

"I have always had one complaint about the practice sessions: the way the student should dress for the. It is assumed that the student is receiving aid from his father or is a scholarship, but he is asked to dress much better than he can afford and little importance is given to supervision. I think practicing teachers should be required to have a uniform so that they will not feel bad because of inadequate dress."

Concerning planning:

"Greater importance should be given to planning. I remember having done a plan, but as part of a group. Plans should be done individually."

"As to the preparation of plans, I think they should be taught the same way they will be demanded later in the public schools. In other words, learn planning as it must be done later."

Recommendations concerning university courses:

Method courses should be more extensive and not limited to the area of specialization:

"They should make it possible for you to learn how to prepare a test of different classes, how to correct deficiencies in reading and writing. I didn't know how to train the kids. They should give courses to train you in what you are really going to teach in the classroom. For example, in the mathematics classes I took some courses on my own, for instance algebra, etc. When you're going to teach mathematics in the eigth grade, for example, either you don't know how or you go above their heads. You don't even know how to explain it more clearly."

To widen the study program within the specialization area:

"Provide more courses to help the teacher prepare himself to teach that subject, science for instance. One of the basic courses includes something about science, but this has not been very useful in my work as a primary school teacher. There should be some special courses for primary school, a general methodology for all grades instead of a special one according to grades and the stages of the child. I know some teachers who won't take primary grades because they lack the basics or because they haven't practiced in those grades."

Courses should be more in keeping with Puerto Rican school realities:

"When you study at the university and then when you come to work it's like two different worlds. Over there they teach theory a certain way, everything scientifically planned, and when you come to work on the field you see the clash between theory and reality. Over there they plan for a certain purpose, for example, for a child with in I.Q. above 90, but when you come to the classroom there's children of all kinds."

"I think there should be a true knowledge of present-day teaching in the Education Department's program and that courses should be based on the system being used in public schools. There should be a close relationship between the courses taught and what is being taught in the public schools. The Education Department and the University must work in close agreement and coordination. Many of the courses I took were about an ideal school, but when you go out on the field and face so many problems you become frustrated. For example, I took a beautiful kindergarten course. When I got to a classroom with four tables and four chairs I got frustrated... and after taking a beautiful kindergarten course about a model school."

Eliminate unnecessary courses that are never used later:

"Less philosophy, less yackety-yak and more education. One should take more courses that will help later. I haven't used philosophy that much."

"In the theoretical courses, like methodology for example, I think they idealize too much. That's not bad, and I think one should aim for the best, but when you go out into life, into the open field, you run into a series of difficulties; all you have is theory and no practice."

Increase the number of courses in areas outside the specialization:

"The teacher needs to know more about psychology in order to deal with the children and improve relations among teachers. They should develop better attitudes towards the community and their fellow teachers. Another thing is that mathematics are fixed and you need them for other courses. They should give basic mathematics courses."

Courses should be offered in the educational program to prepare better teachers of industrial arts:

"The courses are a bit general. Emphasis should be given on how to deal with the various types of children (individual differences, especially with slow or mentally superior groups; environment; emotional development, etc.). Such elements are taught in the courses but in a general way. Then when we come to the school we choke up on one case. If we knew how to solve it, it would be different."

"The teacher (student) should have a voice in drawing up the teacher preparation curriculum. Much is done that is superfluous and there's need for other things that are forgotten. For example, greater contact with children and with the community."

Teaching should be in the vernacular:

"All the books about teaching are in English. The methods should be taught with books in Spanish. Provide more teaching in our vernacular, in Spanish. This does not mean doing away with the teaching of English or other languages; quite the contrary."

Other recommendations:

"Courses or workshops of several weeks' duration where they prepare you totally, relating you to the new and the modern, especially for teachers like me who have not been able to study for quite a while and are a little out of touch."

Recommendations concerning teaching:

Teachers should be better prepared:

"Teachers should be better prepared. They have little to offer. There have been times when I have come away from class completely empty. Other times I have learned something. I notice that some teachers lack the responsibility demanded of a professor; they don't really know what they are doing."

"A more judicious selection of teachers by the University of Puerto Rico. The teacher of a prospective teacher should be well acquainted with the subject. Many of the courses we take are empty. You take them to fulfill a requirement for the diploma."

Class techniques should be improved:

"The methods of some teachers are not the best. The techniques they use, the way they communicate knowledge, are not the most efficient. Sometimes class is just a matter of copying or dictating. That you cram for an exam and learn nothing. They are pulpit teachers.

Recommendations concerning the university:

Recommendations about teacher screening at the School of Education:

"Screening of teachers at the university for students who are going to become teachers. That is to say, a better-chosen group of university professors. Also, the teachers who are going to be in charge of such courses should have experience teaching in public schools, since often they don't know what they are teaching. There's a difference between what they teach over there and what one finds over here. Teachers should be younger; I think they are too old. They should be teachers who are working in public schools and who know what they are doing."

Teachers should be less impersonal in their relations with students:

"Relations between teachers and students should not be so impersonal. Sometimes the teacher comes into the classroom, sits down, opens the book, starts to talk, walks out and that's all. Many of them don't like to be criticized because they can't stand criticism."

"The college teacher does not see the student as a human being but rather as an instrument to be given a mark."

Professors who indoctrinate should be eliminated:

"They should try to eliminate politics at the University, politics in general. I took a course on history of the U.S. and the only thing talked about was statehood. I was supposed to learn about history and all I heard was politics. In this case the person in charge favored statehood, but if it had been another he would have talked about Yankee imperialism. One of the failings of the university is to mix politics with education. I think certain comments by the teaching staff should be avoided. Personnel should be carefully screened to choose persons of integrity for education. We should try to turn out good citizens for democratic life. For example, I hear them talk about communism although our ideals are democratic. I think communism should be discarded in Puerto Rico. Even in the press you can read about it. This is my opinion from what I've read and what I hear about the many minds full of communists ideas as the university and that later influence the students."

Enrollment procedures should be improved:

"We had problems when we went to enroll; we never could find empty sections in Summer. All were full. I would recommend. giving priority to teachers who are going to study in the Summer... And the darned lines you have to stand in!"

There should be more and better orientation for choosing courses:

"Teacher candidates should be given orientation before they take up practice. They should practice at the level at which they think they will be most comfortable. For example, there are cases where for lack of orientation a teacher practices at the elementary level when he really wanted to be at the secondary level. That is to say, that for lack of orientation one goes into a level which is not really the one desired."

"The University of Puerto Rico is always renewing itself, but I think a way must be found for it to keep in contact with those who leave --with those who begin teaching-- and to make them acquainted with what is new, with other approaches to the subjects they are teaching. It might be through the mails, through the Department, etc. It can bring to the teacher whatever is new, not necessarily a course to be taken at home. This way the university will be less crowded. They don't follow the teacher after graduation. Not even the Department does that."

Better selection of candidates:

"There should be better screening of students. Not everyone should be a teacher. Those who apply to the School of Education should be interviewed. Knwoledge

> should be tested by an exam before a person starts teaching. Some teachers don't know how to write or speak well. Teachers' morals should be investigated, and the people they know in town. Persons who can set good examples for students are the ones who should become teachers."

In addition to ask for recommendations, like the ones mentioned above, the study included a group of activities that are common in the educational system. There was a wish to know how much participation public school teachers think they have in their school system. The underlying premise was that greater participation of teachers in such activities could be interpreted as a condition expressing satisfaction, it being deemed that participation of teachers in the activities that guide their work is desirable and positive.

The general situation is presented in Table 2 of the appendix. It shows that a greater degree or participation is felt in five of the 12 activities: planning and implementation of community activities; determining norms of student conduct; regulation of norms of student behavior; organization of the school's work plan and programming of social services for students. Regarding these five activities, 4 out of 10 teachers said they had very much or much participation in the first four, and 3 out of 10 think the same about the last activity. Most of them, think however, that they have little or no participation.

The situations with least participation are those pertaining to evaluation of supervisors, to procedures of promotion and evaluation of teachers themselves, construction of the curriculum and determination of the country's educational goals.

If one takes into account the proportion of teachers who said they had little or no participation, one may deduce that most of these teachers had very little to say about the fundamental matters that rule their professional lives. If this, in turn, can be considered as an index of dissatisfaction, one could say that these teachers are highly dissatisfied, since the teacher portrayed is one with very little chance to affect, through his participation, the common situations that rule his own work. It is a teacher who has hardly any voice in determining not only the goals of education but also the content of his own teaching in the classroom.

The detailed analysis of the variables related to the degree or participation perceived with regard to each particular school activity shows that sex, in general terms, is unimportant. Despite this, the proportion of males who think their participation is less with regard to promotion procedures and organization of the school's work plan is significantly greater than that of females. Nevertheless, the general trend --although it is not significant-- indicates that more females than males feel they participate less in these school activities. Age is also not a signficant variable.

Civil status, however, shows a clear relation to the sense of participation: Unmarried teachers say they have more participation than those who are married, widowed or divorced. Also of interest is the relation that appears to exist between social class, using the father's occupation as the indicator of class, and participation in these activities. Teachers from homes of manual origins say they have more participation than those who come from non-manual origins. This relationship is shown to be significant with regard to educational goals, curriculum, student norms of conduct, community activities and organization of the work plan.

The importance of the class variable remains significant when we use as an indicator the spouse's occupation. Thus it is seen that teachers whose spouses are manually employed say they have more participation than those whose spouses are not so employed. The relationship becomes more evident in connection with educational goals, curriculum, student norms of conduct, standards of student promotion, academic needs of the schools and social services for students.

Place of birth and of upbringing do not stand out as influential factors in determining the degree of participation that these teachers have in the school activities in question.

However, when the residential variable is analyzed it is found that the group living in the metropolitan area thinks it has less participation, whereas those who live in rural areas report a higher degree of participation. Those who live in the urban non-metropolitan area have an intermediate position, but still above those who live in the metropolitan area.

Religion turns up as a very important factor, since it is noted that Catholics definitely indicate that their participation is greater that that of teachers who belong to other religions.

Size of family group, presence or absence of relatives who are teachers, and interruption of university studies in the process of becoming a teacher do not constitute fundamental or significant variables in this respect.

Analysis of a selected group of academic and professional variables shows that, in general terms, teachers who studied at the U.P.R. tend to report less participation than those who studied at the island's other universities. Likewise, those who have at least a bachelor's degreee, a higher academic average or specialization in secondary education indicate less participation.

Years of experience and kind of contract are not significant variables in this part of the study.

Although the location of the school does not reveal a clearly significant relationship, the observable trend is that those who teach in the urban zone feel they have lees participation than those who teach in the rural zone. Likewise, teachers who work in the large districts and at the secondary level feel their degree of participation is less than that of their fellow teachers in opposite situations. The subject being taugh (secondary level) or the grade being taught (elementary level) appear unrelated to the degree of participation felt. Moreover, organization of the school does not appear to have a significant relation either. On the other hand, those who said they were taking university courses at the time of the interview indicated a lesser degree of participation than those who were not studying. A similar relationship is observed between those who have never had another job, compared with those who had some other occupation before becoming teachers. That is to say, that persons whose only experience had been in teaching felt they had less participation in school activities than those who had a more diversified occupational experience. It is also of interest to note that teachers who have worked uninterruptedly in the system think they have less participation that those who at some time or another have ceased to teach.

When the mobility of teachers, in terms of the number of times they have changed from one school district to another, is taken into account the data reveals clearly that those who have had greater mobility are more satisfied with their participation in a selected number of school activities than those whose mobility has been less or none. Also, teachers who evaluated their high school education more negatively are those who think they have less participation. The same trend is observed when one takes into account their opinion with regard to the education they got at the U.P.R. or their experiences during the first year of teaching. In other words, teachers who classified their experiences during the first year of teaching as less satisfactory are also the ones who find their participation in the system unsatisfactory.

Although the number of teachers who do not intend to continue in this line of work is limited (60 out of 599), it is notice that in this group the dissatisfaction with their participation in school activities is definitely marked. Teachers who prefer to teach in private schools, although a limited number, show a high dissatisfaction with participation in the public school system. There is no relationship between participation felt and preference for teaching any other subject or grade or preference for teaching at any other level.

In terms of educational region, the data shows that teachers in San Juan are more dissatisfied with their participation than those in the regions of Ponce and Arecibo. The highest degree of participation is observed in the regions of Caguas and Humacao while Mayaguez has an intermediate position.

Summin up, one may outline the profile of the teacher who feels less participation in school activities as follows: A woman, married, widowed or divorced; of non-manual origins; living in the metropolitan area; non-Catholic; University of Puerto Rico graduate; bachelor's degree; good academic index; specialized in secondary education; works in a large district, San Juan; teaches at the secondary level; was taking university courses at the time of the interview; has always worked as a teacher; has greater mobility; and made a more negative evaluation of her high school and university education.

When teachers were asked whether the government had done enough for their professional group, 220 teachers (37%) said the government has done much for their group, whereas 372 (63%) answered negatively. (Seven teachers gave no answer).

When asked what suggestions they could offer the government to improve their professional group, the teachers offered the following as those of greatest urgency:

Higher pay	73%	(434)
Better working conditions	43%	(256)
More schools	28%	(169)
Better physical facilities	28%	(167)
Lower enrollment per classroom	27%	(160)
More prestige for the teacher	24%	(145)
Free time for teachers to prepare themselves during working hours	21%	(128)
More opportunities for in-service training (courses, seminars, etc.)	20%	(119)

Of average urgency they mentioned:

More attention to teacher's problems	19%	(114)
More and better materials and equipment (textbooks)	13%	(77)
Improved scholarship plan for teachers to continue studying	13%	(75)
More authority. Changes in the Minors' Law	11%	(65)
More job security particularly with regard to appointments	9%	(53)
Better screening of teachers:		
Preparation, etc	7%	(40)
Better teacher facilities for housing, loans, etc	6%	(38)
More and better supervision	7%	(44)

And less urgent:

Education attuned to student ability	5%	(27)
Revision of curriculum program	3%	(17)
Opportunities for promotion, comensations	4%	(23)
Closer ties to the community	4%	(26)

Comments concerning these answers include the following:

On Salaries:

> "Salary is necessary. Low salaries make a lot of people migrate to private enterprise, and since most people who work for private enterprise have less preparation than teachers, the teacher is absorbed. Just this month, several fellow teachers have gone to join the Amstel company. The chemistry teacher himself is going to Parke & Davis or some other company on account of the salary."

"Better pay. Teachers work too much for free. We should be paid as professionals. If one becomes educated, it is in order to live better, especially when the community itself demands this of you. In big towns, for example,people go out on Sundays to have fun; in small towns like this one they hold parent-teacher meetings and you have to go. Why not do that in the afternoons? They tell us: 'You are slaves'

On working conditions

"Teachers in Puerto Rico really do work in inadequate facilities. The teacher has to fight a whole series of problems and difficulties that could be eliminated. A teacher is burdened by many responsibilities that have been assigned to him andthat originally belonged to the home or other institutions. I know certain facts that keep people from becoming teachers or returning to teaching. The responsibility to instill respect, courtesy and good manners into children was formerly a duty of the parents; now they think this must be done by the teachers when the student is already set in his habits and customs. Teachers are made responsible for the students' attendance to class --at least there's an attempt to do this. The parents themselves show this. The parents themselves show this when they talk with you and say that the teacher is the second father when in fact it's the parents who have to watch over the behavior of children. Children must be educated at home as much as in school."

> "There is a series of breakdowns in good relations. In our system, we want the teaching profession to be a whole: supervisors, superintendents, principals and teachers, all being one. But then a kind of hierarchy steps in and they become separated. Teachers notice this and are bothered by it. There was a meeting about human relations, then after the discussion came lunch. The supervisors were served on their separate tables while teachers were still standing waiting for lunch. People say, 'This has always happened,' but the fact is that it should be avoided. I don't think one can place oneself on a pedestal. Rather, there should be a professional relationship of equality. In such situations teachers are victims of disrespect."

On working conditions:

> "Here in schools we find other realities different from those taught in the universities. Over there there's too much theory. Over here one finds a reality different from what is taught there. I practiced in a school where students are provided with certain materials, but then when you come to work in the country, for example, without books, without adequate classrooms, sometimes there's not enough to give the students the necessary education. It's a far cry from the university, and many times teachers find themselves lost and quit. Despite the intention, reality is different, but if a teacher doesn't want to teach he doesn't adapt."

"The government should finally set down a single pattern for teaching, a true pattern of teaching, instead of writing or saying one thing in the plans and then coming out with the opposite. One single pattern of teaching. Right now attempts are being made to instill two cultures and two languages simultaneously into public school students in Puerto Rico, in some more than in others. Most of the time, and of course there are exceptions, students have neither the desire nor later the chance to put this knowledge into practice. I think students and teachers are wasting their time."

On physical facilities:

"Two teachers in one classroom; there's no place to keep materials. You have to pay for lost books even though you can't control these things. We're given equipment and made responsible for it, there should be facilities to keep them in a safe place. It's hard to work without materials, with just one set of books for five groups. Such working conditions are the ones that keep teachers away."

On various aspects related to screening of teachers:

"I think one way to attract qualified personnel is through scholarships to poor people. Teachers are poor people. I would try to find young people interested in teaching, try to locate them before they go into other professions, try to help them with scholarships and orientation. Me. I would open the way for every youth who's interested in becoming a teacher so he can get the training, especially in the poor and middle classes. One finds interest among these groups because they have been through experiences that move them to help others."

"Academic achievement should be taken into account in the screening, but vocation should also be considered. Some have taken up teaching because they have failed in other fields and have to like school. Some brilliant ones cannot teach; they don't have the vocation. They should try to get young people without problems at home, without children or a wife, that kind of problems. It's not so much intelligence as attitude when dealing with students. For the person to have a true vocation, this I think is the main thing. If he doesn't like it he shouldn't work at it. He should have good relations with the others, with his fellow teachers as well as with the students. Some teachers go in and out without bothering to mingle with the other teachers. The university should teach them something about human relations. They should be responsible and not be absent from school often. Also, teachers should live near the town where they work because this way they can get to know the children and the community better and do better work."

On improvement of teachers' academic preparation:

"Teachers should be required to have more basic academic courses of the kind taught in elementary or secondary school. Teachers face certain problems in the classroom that cannot be solved because of certain cultural loopholes and I think this is due to the requirements for practicing the profession. For example, if a teacher specializes in sociology, many times there are students in the classroom who are eager to know about geography, history or even physics, and some times the teacher, not being trained in these subjects, has to remain silent."

"There should be more practice in facing a class. Teaching is too theoretical and I think it should be based more on reality. Courses should include things that can be useful."

On chances for promotion within the profession without having to leave the classroom:

"There should be more chances for promotion within the profession, that is to say, it shouldn't be necessary for a teacher to leave the classroom in order to be promoted. Me, for example, as a biology teacher. I like my profession and I wish I had a chance to stand out more without having to leave the classroom."

"There should be a system of promotions within the profession: it shouldn't be necessary to become a principal.

There should be a system whereby a teacher can get salary increases on the basis of merits, experience and ability to teach various subjects. Some teachers join the profession and in 20 years they don't progress, they don't improve, they remain stagnant because they want to be teachers in a classroom."

On improvement of supervision:

"They tell you, 'The plan is yours', the supervisors come along and crucify the plan. The supervisors say, 'Our purpose is to help you', but when they go away all they leave behind is criticism. That's no help. They shouldn't just be strict; they should tell you the good points. They should improve the way they criticize you. Not just say what's bad but how to improve the unsatisfactory points. They should show you what they want."

"Supervision -although I'd prefer to pass it by. The way I see it, it leaves much to be desired in the present school system. I have worked with many principals and I can mention only two who know what they are doing. The quality of supervisory personnel is truly alarming, not only at the district level but at the regional and central office levels as well. At one meeting I heard a supervisor say that he had not supervised for five years, that he knew nothing of social studies and that he let somebody else do the supervising of social studies. It was for me an incomprehensible situation. I got nothing out of the meetings subsequent to the visits of this supervisor. If hundreds of teachers have left it's because of supervision. I think it's been because of the very bad supervision and not so much the salary scales."

What Recommendations Do Teachers Make To Improve Their Professional Group?

Recommendations concerning improvement of the prestige or recognition now given to teachers:

"In the first place, the Department of Education and other agencies should try by every possible means to raise the image of teachers in our society. I mean respect for the profession, prestige. I say this because you often hear parents say, I hope my children study, even if just to become teachers.'"

"Teachers should be elevated to the position they really deserve. One should be proud of the profession. Interest is always centered on students, curriculum, administration, never on teachers. In the old days the profession was respected and teachers were among the foremost people in the community. Teachers have to be stimulated, and not just in economic matters. It's a question of appraising their true worth and merit. This has a great influence."

Improvement of opportunities for in service training or study:

"We need social science workshops. More money should be appropriated because there's much demand for them and sometimes you're not lucky enough to get admitted even if you're interested. Instead of having them in just one place, they should spread these institutes around the island and teachers should get direct economic aid from the departament because a married person who has nothing but his teacher's salary cannot go to study, and one must always study. That is why you go on working and fall behind. In fact, everybody wants to get ahead, but if he has to depend on his pay alone he cannot study. Private universities should not have such exaggerated tuition fees."

"I think in a way the department is unfair to teachers. Teachers should be classified, and the brilliant ones, for example, should be given attention with regard to their aspirations to learn -- scholarships for study."

On school policy:

"Regarding this I would recommend a change in the dropout policy so that students with a chance to make a fair average will not leave school. Not everybody can be a professional. For this type of student there should be more vocational and technical schools."

"Mass advancement from one grade to the next. This brought trouble because when you took one group and started to teach them something you found that the group did not respond because it was not properly prepared. This is bad, I think, because there are no set rules for failing a child if he has not done the work of his grade. Because of this there is a certain fear of failing a child. It is looked in terms of student costs,of the amount of money it takes to keep a child in school. It also is prejudicial to teachers since it has been said that teachers who fail students get demoted. Parents know about this."

On teacher authority in the classroom:

"Discipline in public schools is the worst I've seen. There's no respect for school authority. Teachers are afraid to ask in order to avoid disciplinary action against themselves or against the student by the authorities who can do it. The heads of the schools have their hands tied. For example, Jane Doe paddles a girl. They bring her to the office and the principal cannot throw her out because the student goes to the Department of Education and they say there that she must be admitted back in the school. That is to say, every day teachers' authority is attacked more. If there's problems with a child even the parents jump on him. Teachers need more support from the higher authorities. Some teachers can't even get the principal or the superintendent to defend them."

On relations between parents, teachers and students:

"Today you try to teach a kid something and the first ones who side against you are his parents. If this is so, how can you work with the kids and enjoy it? If parents cooperated and there were better relations between parents and teachers, better work would be done. For example, parents should try to go to the school often, and teachers should try to visit the parents. They should be like friends, not enemies. Many people say: 'Work isn't worth it because they take the rights away from the teachers and give them to the parents and the students.' They would rather go to work somewhere else than undergo aggravation in the classroom."

"Parents should be better oriented with the help of films and lectures about the work of teachers. Sometimes you have to give out information yourself and everything because they drop the kids into the school and that's all."

Other recommendations:

"More indepandence. They (Department of Education) set goals for you and plans drawn up by them and their experiments and you can't create and be innovative on your own. If you create you get criticized. This reduces teachers' enthusiasm and kind of nullifies them."

"Teachers should be given greater participation in planning courses and school activities, in other words, they should be taken into account more in connection with the educational aspects. They should count on them for the changes that are going to take place within the system where they are serving."

"Teachers should be given participation in preparing general education activities. They should also participate in determining the professional and pedagogical orientation of the Department of Education."

Teachers supplement their recommendations by stating that the government should draw up a plan to attract qualified and competent personnel to the profession. To this end, they reaffirm giving priority to improvement of salaries (64%; 380), working conditions (40%; 241), and careful screening of candidates (39%; 231).

Other recommendations deal with improvement of opportunities for in-service training (22%; 133), physical facilities (20%; 118), supervision (18%; 108) and improvement of prestige or recognition given to the teacher (15%; 89).

It is interesting to notice that they do not consider as important factors in attracting qualified and competent personnel to the teaching profession factors relating to teacher participation, student evaluation or teacher promotion.

In summarizing this section it may be pointed out that although public school teachers, tend to be satisfied with their college training they are very critical indeed about the gap between "course theory" and "educational reality" as revealed to then by their daily teaching experiences. They are very much conscious of the scant participation teachers have in determining educational goals and policies and school curriculum as well as the disadvantaged conditions under which Puerto Ricans educators have to work. Thus, their main demands are for better salaries and better working conditions which may also reflect in the improvement of their social status. Teachers see their group as the "underprivileged partners" of the professional middle class and place on government the main responsibility to improve their lot. Such an improvement seems to require drastically new approaches towards determining priorities and operational strategies with regard to teaching problems in Puerto Rico.

Table I

Most Useful Courses, In Descending Order

Courses	Frequency (N=599)	Percentage*
Psychology (child, adolescent)	265	44
Methods	251	42
Social Sciences	120	20
Educations (in general terms)	116	19
English	98	16
Spanish	89	15
Sciences (Biology, Chemistry, Physics)	83	14
Mathematics	70	12
Basic Courses (General Studies)	69	12
Student-teaching	62	10
Humanities	59	10
History	54	9
Home Economics	50	8
Other (Social Work)	48	8
Physical Education	15	3
Art	12	2
Business Courses	11	2
Music	10	2
Fine Arts	4	0.6
Others	1	0.1

*The percentages add up to more than 100% because the subjects could give more than one answer.

Table 2

Perception Of The Degree Of Teacher Participation In Varicus School Activities

Activity	Degree of participation		
	Very much or much %	Fair or little %	None %
Determine the country's educational goals	19	48	33
Curriculum Construction	11	49	40
Teacher evaluation procedures	9	39	53
Teacher promotion procedures	3	23	74
Regulation of student behavior	44	45	11
Planning and carrying out of community activities	45	50	5
Selection of textbooks and other materials	9	45	46
Evaluation of supervisors	5	19	76
Organization of the shcool's work plan	43	41	16
Determining standards for student promotion	45	19	36
Determining the school's academic needs	29	53	18
Programming and implementation of Social services for students	35	54	11

Table 3

Recommendations For Attracting Qualified And Competent Personnel To The Teaching Profession, In Descending Order

Recommendations	Yes %	No %	Total N
Better pay	64	36	100 (596)
Better working conditions	40	60	100 (596)
Improvement of candidate screening and recruitment	39	61	100 (596)
Better chances for study or in-service training	22	78	100 (596)
Better physical facilities	20	80	100 (596)
Better supervision	18	82	100 (596)
Improved prestige or recognition for teachers	15	85	100 (596)
Improve academic preparation for teachers	13	87	100 (596)
More teacher authority in the classroom	9	91	100 (596)
Better relations between parents, teachers and students	6	94	100 (596)
Chances for teacher promotion without having to leave the classroom	2	98	100 (596)
Changes in dropout policies	1	99	100 (596)
More teacher participation	1	99	100 (596)
Other recommendations	4	96	100 (596)

Table 4

Average Number Of Hours Spent Per Week On School Work Outside Working Hours

School task	Average hours per week
Planning	6:55
Correcting exams	3:33
Preparing materials	3:10
Checking attendance records	1:40
Looking for reference materials	1:12
Visiting homes	2:00
Meetings	1:00
Reading	3:37
Weekly average	23:07